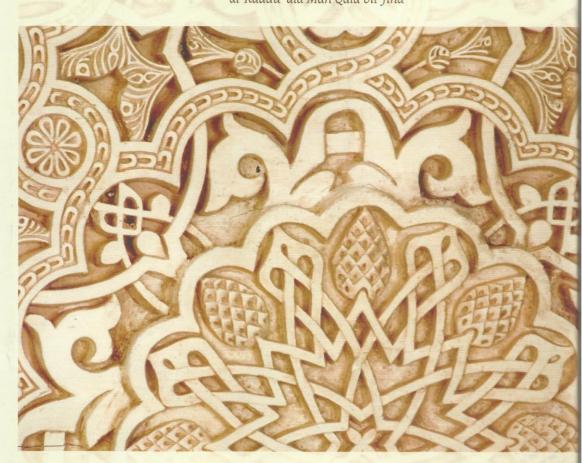
IBN JAHBAL AL-KILĀBĪ

THE REFUTATION OF HIM [IBN TAYMIYYA] WHO ATTRIBUTES DIRECTION TO ALLAH al-Raddu 'alā Man Qāla bil-Jiha

THE REFUTATION OF HIM [IBN TAYMIYYA] WHO ATTRIBUTES DIRECTION TO ALLAH



IBN JAHBAL AL-KILĀBĪ

Introduction SHAYKH WAHBI SULAYMAN GHAWJI

Translation and Notes
GIBRIL FOUAD HADDAD

GIBRIL FOUAD HADDAD



The present volume is a special "all-Damascene" edition, which contains the very first (and definitive) English translation of Ibn Jahbal's Arabic text; completed by an authorized, nay Damascus-trained and native scholar, Shaykh Gibril Fouad Haddad, who possesses the complete and exclusively Dimashqi ijaza going back to the original Damascene author; and supplemented by superb scholarly documentation and a running commentary. The volume includes the Mugaddima of one of Damascus's senior living Hanafi jurists, ShaykhWahbī Sulaymān Ghāwjī, which presents an up-to-date explanation of figurative interpretation in Islamic theology. The volume is also prefaced by another introduction, which catalogues the problematic positions of the redoubtable Ibn Taymiyya raised by scholars throughout the ages including his own students, regarding which a Dimashqi muhaddith recently quipped: "The mistakes of the great are the greatest mistakes."

THE REFUTATION OF HIM [IBN TAYMIYYA] WHO ATTRIBUTES DIRECTION TO ALLĀH [al-Raddu ʿalā Man Qāla bil-Jiha]

IBN JAHBAL AL-KILĀBĪ

Translation and Notes by Gibril Fouad Haddad

Copyright © 2008 Gibril Fouad Haddad

The Refutation of Him [Ibn Taymiyya] Who Attributes Direction to Allāh. al-Raddu 'alā Man Qāla bil-Jiha

Ibn Jahbal al-Kilābī Introduction by Shaykh Wahbi Sulayman Ghawji Translation and Notes by Gibril Fouad Haddad

AQSA Publications, Birmingham, UK htttp://www.aqsapublications.com info@aqsapublications.com

No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or otherwise, including photocopying, recording, and internet without prior permission of the copyright owner.

A CIP catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 0-9547540-8-5

January 2008 / Muharram 1429

Book design and typesetting by Abd al-Hafidh Wentzel Cover design by S Hussain

The translator wishes to thank Jawad Qureshi and especially Zainab Chaudhry for their meticulous proofing of this work.

"Stay away from talk of limits and direction."

Al-Muḥāsibī, Risālat al-Mustarshidīn.

"The Pre-Eternal One does not have a 'towards' nor a limit. Nor is there any link between Him and creatures nor any separation from them. Being in a place, for Him, is an absurd impossibility. He was – Exalted is He – when there was no place, and He is now just as He ever was."

Al-Qushayrī, al-Mi'rāj.

"The sum total of our knowledge of Allāh sis is certitude in His existence without modality and without place."

Aḥmad al-Rifāʻi, Ḥikam.

"The attribution of 'highness' to Allāh se refers to meaning. It is impossible that it refer to sensory perception."

Ibn Ḥajar, Fatḥ al-Bārī.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abū Dāwūd = his Sunan

Abū Nu'aym = his Hilya

Ahmad = his Musnad

Al-Bukhārī = his Ṣaḥīḥ

Al-Dāraquṭnī = his Sunan

Al-Dārimī = his Musnad, also known as the Sunan

Al-Ḥākim = his Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn

Al-Haythamī = his Majma' al-Zawā'id

Ibn Abī Shayba = his *Muṣannaf*

Ibn 'Asākir = his Tārīkh Dimashq

Ibn Hibbān = his Şahīh

Ibn Mājah = his Sunan

Muslim = his Sahīh

Al-Nasā'ī = his minor Sunan known as al-Mujtabā

Al-Tirmidhī = his Sunan

FOREWORD BY SHAYKH MUHAMMAD AFIFI AL-AKITI

Like the Judaic and Christian theological traditions, the Islamic one also, – arguably with less crassness – faced the problems of scriptural literalism that result in an anthropomorphic theology. As the early (salaf) Muslim community became more sophisticated and began to lead the world in scientific progress – and especially from the time of Islam's *Doctor Angelicus*, al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) – Muslim theologians came to embrace and institutionalize the case for ta'wīl. This was Islām's systematic solution of the problem, through a canon of figurative interpretation of scripture as a necessary tool of hermeneutics.

Not only did the method of *ta'wīl* keep anthropomorphism in check through offering a middle way in the understanding of Divine Attributes as limited by human language, but it served to reconcile Divine Scripture with the discoveries afforded by human reason. This legitimization of *ta'wīl* by the classical '*ulamā'* and its systematic treatment in the Golden Age of Islām made it an established doctrine among Muslim theologians. It became the standard position in later (*khalaf*) orthodoxy within the Sunni tradition (alongside the formerly dominant, simpler alternative, and utterly unexplainable "non-method": *tafwīd*) – the cultural milieu that brought forth this work.

This short theological tract, Fī Nafī al-Jiha, or On Denying Direction to God, by the Ashʿari theologian and celebrated Shafīʿi jurist, Qāḍī Ibn Jahbal (d. 733/1333), is a clinical rebuttal of the controversial fatwā, the ʿAqīda Ḥamawiyya, penned by his legendary contemporary, Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328). It is

considered, rightly, a classic manifesto of anti-literalism, which embraces the successful pro-ta'wīl Ghazālīan theses advocated centuries earlier – to the extent that Ibn al-Subkī (d. 771/1370) reproduced the whole of Ibn Jahbal's work in his magisterial *Ṭabaqāt*.

The present volume is a special "all-Damascene" edition, which contains the very first (and definitive) English translation of Ibn Jahbal's Arabic text; completed by an authorized, nay Damascus-trained and native scholar, Shaykh Gibril Fouad Haddad, who possesses the complete and exclusively Dimashqī ijāza going back to the original Damascene author; and supplemented by superb scholarly documentation and a running commentary. The volume includes the Mugaddima of one of Damascus's senior living Ḥanafī jurists, Shaykh Wahbī Sulaymān Ghāwjī, which presents an up-to-date explanation of figurative interpretation in Islamic theology. The volume is also prefaced by another introduction, which catalogues the problematic positions of the redoubtable Ibn Taymiyya raised by scholars throughout the ages including his own students, regarding which a Dimashqī muḥaddith recently quipped: "The mistakes of the great are the greatest mistakes."

This convenient *Collectio Errorum* by Shaykh Haddad is not a zero-sum critique. In fact, it will be appreciated for it isolates Ibn Taymiyya's unquestionably controversial materials from the rest of his vast corpus – thus enabling one to take the good and leave the bad; and this list will be a service to the non-scholar who might want to benefit from reading the works of this prolific Ḥanbalī jurist, one who is now enjoying a greater following and who indeed can be said to be a phenomenon of present-day Islām.

Along with a work by an earlier Ḥanbalī theologian, the *Daf' Shubah al-Tashbīh* of Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200), this medieval contribution by Ibn Jahbal remains one of the most important texts refuting the anthropomorphists of the Muslim world. This will be an indispensable reference for advanced students of Islamic theology, other professional theologians, and modern academics needing primary source materials in English or a source book on the controversies surrounding Ibn Taymiyya's theology.

This same work embodies, moreover, a contemporary exercise in polemic representing the longstanding views in the conformist tradition of Muslim theology, whether via ta'wīl or tafwīd, and whether in the schools of the Ash'arīs, Māturīdīs or Ḥanbalīs. In particular, it pits itself against one of the two opposite non-conformist readings of the Qur'ān and Sunna; and in general, it highlights the pitfalls of a literalistic mindset which plagues all scripturally-based religions.

Muhammad Afifi al-Akiti Research Fellow in Islamic Theology, Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, Oxford University.



CONTENTS

ranslator's Introduction	
Ibn Jahbal al-Kilābī	11
The Controversy Surrounding Ibn Taymiyya's Orthodoxy	13
The Sunni Stand Against Anthropomorphism	15
Ibn Taymiyya's Life and Teachings	27
Al- 'Alā'ī's Summary of Ibn Taymiyya's Deviations	28
His Teachers and Students	31
Divided Opinions Concerning Him	32
Al-Dhahabī's Synopsis of His Case	34
"He was Very Learned but Lacked Intelligence"	35
The Ḥanbalīs' Prohibition Against Him Giving Fatwa	36
The Fatwā Ḥamawiyya Attributing Direction to Allāh 🐝	37
His Several Imprisonments	39
His Equivocations Under Interrogation	40
Al-Ṭūfī's Summary of Ibn Taymiyya's Deviations	41
His Former Admiration of Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī	44
His Sufi Affiliation with the Qadirī Tarīqa	45
His Innovative Nullification of Triple Divorce	48
Ibn Rajab Supports then Rejects His Fatwā on Divorce	49
His Prohibition of Travel to Visit the Holy Prophet &	50
The Ḥanbalī Rejection of this Fatwā	51
Shaykh al-Islām al-Subkī's Rejection of this Fatwā	52
Shaykh al-Islām al-'Irāqī's Rejection of this Fatwā	53
Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Ḥajar's Rejection of this Fatwā	54
Ḥāfiz al-Ṣafadī's Rejection of this Fatwā	54
Ḥāfiẓ al-Qārī's Rejection of this Fatwā	55
Imām al-Kafājī's Rejection of this Fatwā	56
Other Rejections of this Fatwā	56

REFUTATION OF HIM WHO ATTRIBUTES DIRECTION TO ALLAH

Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī's Fanatic Defense	
of His Teacher	57
The Hadith "Whoever Visits My Grave,	
My Intercession is Guaranteed for Him"	59
His Last Days and Repentence from His Activities	64
His Abandonment by His Former Admirers	65
His Revival of Ibn Ḥazm's Vicious Style	67
His Excessive Involvement in Kalām and Philosophy	68
Al-Dhahabī's Bayān Zaghl al-'Ilm and	
His Naṣīḥa to Ibn Taymiyya	69
Al-Subkī's Summary of Ibn Taymiyya's	
Deviations in Doctrine	72
Al-Haytamī's Summary of Ibn Taymiyya's Deviations	73
Ibn Taymiyya's Incredulity of Imām Aḥmad's Fatwā	
on Tabarruk with the Prophetic Grave	77
His Denial of Tawassul and His	
Denial of Such Denial	78
His Invention of a Post-Conversion Reconversion	
of al-Ashʿarī	79
Al-Kawthari's Scathing Exposure of	
His Anthropomorphism	80
Ibn Taymiyya's Denial of the Eternity of Hellfire	84
His Invention of a Double or Triple Tawhid	86
Al-Tubbānī's Refutation of His Multiple Tawḥīds	87
Ibn Taymiyya's Verbose Methodology in Disputation	90
His Climbing Down the Pulpit to Illustrate	
the Divine Descent	94
His Appearance	95
The Revival of His Teachings by the Wahhābī Movement	95
Selected Taymiyyan Heresiographical Literature	100
Al-Nabhānī's Verdict on Ibn Taymiyya	105

	CONTENTS
Shaykh Wahbī Sulaymān Ghāwjī's Introduction	107
The Salaf, the Khalaf, Ta'wīl and the Correction of Errors	
in 'Aqīda	107
The Salaf	107
The Khalaf	110
Ta'wīl	115
Preconditions for Accepting Ta'wil	118
The Later Need for Ta'wīl According to Ahl al-Sunna	123
Ta'wil Does Not Mean Negation of the Attributes	125
Putting to Rest Certain Insinuations and Warning of	
Certain Scholarly Errors That Pertain to Doctrine	128
Ibn Jahbal:	
Refutation of Him Who Attributes Direction to Allāh	145
Chain of Transmission for this Book	147
Author's Introduction	151
The Ḥashwiyya or Vulgar Anthropomorphists	153
Mālik and Shāfi'i's Understanding of Tawḥīd	160
The Ash'aris are Closer to the Salaf Than the Ḥashwiyya	162
The Doctrine of Ahl al-Sunna	164
The Requisites of Transcendence (Wazā'if al-Taqdīs)	171
Refutation of Ibn Taymiyya's Claims	
Preliminaries	173
Chapter One: The Fallacy of His "Proofs from the Qur'an"	
and the Ḥashwiyya's Self-Contradictions	177
Chapter Two: The Fallacy of His "Proofs from the Sunna"	189
Chapter Three: Parenthesis: His Understanding of	
the Withness (maʻiyya) and Height of Allāh 🛣	195
Chapter Four: His Peculiar Understanding of	
"with," "in," "above," and "on"	203
Chapter Five: His Understanding of the Heaven	
to Mean "the Height"	207

REFUTATION OF HIM WHO ATTRIBUTES DIRECTION TO ALLAH

Chapter Six: His Rhetoric Against the Mutakallimūn	217
Chapter Seven: The Absurdity of His Literalism	221
Chapter Eight: His Calumnies Against the Sunnī Theologians	227
Chapter Nine: His Attribution of Unbelief	
and Heresy to the Ulema	233
Chapter Ten: His Unreliable Manner of	
Quoting the Salaf	237
Chapter Eleven: [Imām al-Ghazzāli's] Ethics of Tawḥīd	257
Upholding Divine Transcendence	258
Belief and Confirmation	259
Admission of Incapacity	260
Keeping Silent	260
Refraining from Paraphrasing	262
Ceasing Cogitation	263
Believing Firmly in the Knowledge of the Prophet	263
Chapter Twelve: Kalām Dialectic in the Qur'an	
and the Rejection of Imitation	265
Chapter Thirteen: Warnings of the Great Sufi Shaykhs	
against Literalism	269
Chapter Fourteen: Leave Qur'ānic Exegesis to its Experts	273
Chapter Fifteen: Qur'anic Proofs Negating Direction	275
Chapter Sixteen: Qur'ān and Sunna Yield	
No Evidence for Anthropomorphists	279
Appendix I: Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya	283
Appendix II: Shaykh Wahbī Sulaymān Ghāwjī al-Albānī:	
A Brief Bio-Bibliography	297
Bibliography	303
ndexes	325
Index of Qur'anic Verses	327
Index of Narrations	329
General Index of Arabic Terms, Names and Works	333

TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

IBN JAHBAL AL-KILĀBĪ

Aḥmad ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyā ibn Tāj al-Dīn Ismā 'īl ibn Ṭāhir ibn Nașr Allāh ibn Jahbal, al-Qādī Shihāb al-Dīn or Nāṣir al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās al-Kilābī al-Halabī thumma al-Dimashqī al-Shāfi'ī al-Ash'arī, known as Ibn Jahbal (670-733), is described in al-Dhahabi's Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā' as "the erudite scholar, the guiding leader of Muslims" and in his 'Ibar fi Khabari Man 'Abar as "The muftī of the Muslims." He took figh from Abū al-Faraj Sharaf al-Dīn al-Magdisī, al-Sadr ibn al-Wakīl, Ibn al-Naqīb, Muḥammad ibn 'Umar Sadr al-Dīn ibn al-Murahhal al-'Uthmānī, and ḥadīth from Abū al-Ḥasan ibn al-Bukhārī, 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im ibn al-Qawwas, Ahmad ibn Hibat Allah ibn 'Asākir, and others. He narrated in Makka, Madīna, al-Qudus, and Damascus. He taught at the Salāhiyya School in al-Oudus then moved to Damascus where he assumed the headmastership of Dar al-Ḥadīth at al-Ṭāhiriyya. When the headmaster of the Bādirā'iyya School died, he replaced him while al-Dhahabī took over Dār al-Ḥadīth. He died in Damascus at age sixty-three and was buried in Maqbarat al-Şūfiyya. His older brother, the headmaster of the Atābakiyya School, vice-governor of Damascus and qāḍī of Tripoli, Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū al-Fidā

Al-Dhahabī, al- 'Ibar (4:96-97).

Ismā'īl ibn Yaḥyā (666-740) survived him seven years and was buried next to him.

Al-Dhahabī said of Ibn Jahbal: "There was great goodness and pious devotion in him; he possessed excellent traits, great merits, and perspicuity in the ramifications of knowledge." Ibn Kathīr in his Bidāya named him "the Shaykh, the admirable Imām, the muftī of the Muslims" and said: "He was among the authoritative fuqahā'. He took nothing from the Bādirā'iyya nor the Zāhiriyya which he did not already know." Ibn al-Kutbī said: "He was a scrupulously Godwary scholar. When he fell sick he spent a great deal in charity, including his clothes." After relating the above in the Durar al-Kāmina, Ibn Ḥajar said: "Our Shaykh al-Burhān al-Shāmī narrated to us what he heard from him." Ibn Jahbal also taught the historian and ḥadīth Master 'Alam al-Dīn al-Birzālī and the lexicographer Majd al-Dīn al-Fayrūzābādī who read Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim to him in Damascus in three days.²

² Cf. al-Qāsimī's Qawā' id al-Taḥdīth (p. 262).

The Controversy Surrounding Ibn Taymiyya's Orthodoxy

Ibn Jahbal's *al-Radd* 'alā Man Qāla bil-Jiha or "The Refutation of Him Who Attributes Direction [to Allāh]" came in response to a fatwā given in the year 698 to some people from Ḥamā:

Towards the end of the rule of Lajin after Oabjag left Syria, a trial took place for Shaykh Taqi al-Din Ibn Taymiyya. A group of jurists opposed him and demanded that he be summoned before the judge Jalal al-Din al-Hanafi but he did not come. An outcry was raised in the country concerning the statement of doctrine (al-'agida) that the people of Ḥamā had asked him and which is called al-Hamawiyya. The Emir Sayf al-Dīn Jā'ān defended him and sent out word summoning those who had opposed him. Many of them hid themselves while others were flogged. As a result, the rest remained silent. On the day of Jumu'a, Shaykh Tagī al-Dīn held his usual gathering in the mosque and explained the statement of Allah Most High, {And lo! You are of a tremendous nature} (68:4). Then he met with the gadī Imām al-Din on the following day, at which time a group of eminent people gathered there and discussed the Hamawiyya. They disputed with him over certain passages but he gave

them replies that silenced them after much talk. Then Shaykh Taqī al-Dīn left and things went back to normal.³

The "group of jurists" rightly saw in the Fatwā Ḥamawiyya a sophisticated attempt at reviving the belief of the Karrāmiyya sect in the corporeality, place, upward direction (jihat al-'uluw) and literal aboveness (fawqiyya ḥaqīqiyya) of Allāh Most High. The fatwā was forgotten until its revival by the "Salafīs" and recently received a glossy edition at the hands of one of the Saudi propagandists of the Wahhābī movement, Ḥamd al-Tuwayjirī, the author of 'Aqīdat Ahl al-Īmān fī Khalqi Ādama 'alā Ṣūrat al-Raḥmān ("The Doctrine of the Believers Concerning the Creation of Ādam in the Image of the Merciful"), in which he actually quotes the book of Genesis—"We shall create Man in Our image and likeness"—in support of his anthropomorphism. ¹ Ibn al-Subkī reproduced Ibn Jahbal's refutation in full in his Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfī'iyya al-Kubrā and we publish its full annotated translation here for the first time.

³ Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāya wal-Nihāya (year 698).

⁴ Al-Tuwayjirī is the muftī who demanded that women caught driving in Saudi Arabia be labeled as prostitutes in the courts. He authored a 300-page book titled *al-Diobandiyya* in which he castigates the Ulema of Deoband as holding corrupt and deviant beliefs. See our book *Albānī and His Friends*.

The Sunni Stand Against Anthropomorphism

Strange as they sound, the positions forwarded in the Fatwā Ḥamawiyya affirming the upward direction, altitude, and literal aboveness of Allāh Most High on top of the sky are nothing new. Christians have been saying "Our Father Who art in heaven" in this sense for centuries and it is part of their obligatory creed to say that on the Day of Judgment "the Son [Jesus] will be seated at the right hand of the Father." The Ulema have refuted similar intimations of anthropomorphism since the earliest times. Ibn Jahbal only recounted some of their statements and clarified them in the best way he could.

Imām Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, for example, said that the sayings of Allāh {Wait they for naught else than that Allāh should come unto them in the shadows of the clouds with the angels?} (2:210) and {Await they aught save that the angels should come unto them or your Lord's command should come to pass?} (16:33) refer to the Jews, as do the verses {O you who believe! Come, all of you, into submission – and if you slide back after the clear proofs have come unto you, then know that Allāh is Mighty, Wise.} (2:208-209):⁵

As established in al-Wāḥidī's Asbāb al-Nuzūl and al-Suyūṭī's Asbāb al-Nuzūl. This is also the position of Ibn Kathīr, al-Qurṭubī, and others on verse 2:210.

Imām al-Qushayrī said in the beginning of his famous Risāla:

I heard the Shaykh Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Sulamī say – Allāh have mercy on him!: I heard 'Abd Allāh ibn Mūsā al-Sulamī say: I heard Abū Bakr al-Shiblī say: "The One (al-Wāḥid) is [He Who ought to be] known [to exist] before limits/directions (al-ḥudūd) and before letters/sounds (al-ḥurūf)." This is an explicit statement on al-Shiblī's part that the Pre-Eternal (al-Qadīm) has no limit/place/direction for His Essence (lā ḥadda li-dhātih).

Shaykh Muḥammad Sa'īd Ramaḍān al-Būṭī commented on the above: "We do not explain elevation ('uluw) but simply attribute it to Allāh Most High because He attributed it to Himself in the Book. For height, with respect to a human being, is relative, while in relation to Allāh, it is absolute. Al-Shiblī linked this to His being 'The One.' That is, 'He was and there was nothing with Him' – i.e. neither place nor direction."

Imām Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī (d. 333) said: "To suggest a place for Allāh is idolatry."⁸

⁶ Al-Rāzī, al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr cf. al-Kawtharī's notes on al-Bayhaqī's al-Asmā' wal-Ṣifāt (Kawtharī ed. p. 448).

⁷ From his Damascus Jumu'a lectures on the Risāla Qushayriyya in the late nineties.

⁸ Quoted in Abū Ḥanīfa, Kitāb al-Fiqh al-Akbar bi-Sharḥ al-Qārī (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyya al-Kubrā, 1327/1909) p. 16; cf. "al-Māturīdī" [Abū al-Layth al-Samarqandī], Sharh al-Fiqh al-Akbar in Majmūʿat Rasāʾil (Hyderabad: Maṭbaʿat Majlis Dāʾirat al-Maʿarif al-Nizāmiyya, 1903).

Ibn Ḥazm said: "By no means whatsoever is Allāh in a place or time. This is the position of the vast majority of the scholars (al- $jumh\bar{u}r$) and ours as well, and other than this position is not permissible, for anything other than that is false."

Qādī Badr al-Dīn Ibn Jamā'a said: "Know that the term 'above' (fawq) in the language of the Arabs is used to mean the firmly established location of height (al-ḥayyiz al-thābit al-ʿālī) and it is used in the sense of power (al-qudra) and upper rank (al-rutbat al-ʿaliyya). Examples of the aboveness of power are the verses {The Hand of Allāh is above (fawq) their hands} (48:10) and {He is the Omnipotent over (fawq) His slaves} (6:18, 6:61). For what accompanies the mention of the omnipotence indicates that sense."

Fakhr al-Islām Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Pazdawī (d. 482) said in his magisterial *Uṣūl*:

For us [Māturīdīs], {those who are firmly grounded in know-ledge} (3:7) have no share in the knowledge of the ambiguous content of Qur'ān (al-mutashābih) other than pure resignation (al-taslīm), believing in the real nature of the meaning (ḥaqqiyyat al-murād) in the Divine presence and that the pause at His saying: {None knows its explanation save Allāh} (3:7) is required (waqf wājib). The People of Belief belong to one of two levels in knowledge: some over-zealously demand that it be read without pause – those are tested with a form of ignorance; some demand the pause – those are honored with a form of knowledge [...]. An example of the ambiguous verses is the individual letters that open certain sūras. Another example is the affirmation of His vision with the

⁹ In al-Fișal fil-Milal (2:125).

¹⁰ Ibn Jamā'a, Īdāh al-Dalīl (p. 108).

sight of the eyes in reality in the hereafter, according to the explicit text of the Qur'ān: {On that day will faces be resplendent, looking towards their Lord} (75:22-23). For He exists with the attribute of perfection, and the fact that He can be seen both by Himself and others is among the characteristics of perfection; moreover, the believer is made to receive such bestowal of the Divine gift. However, the affirmation of direction is precluded (ithbāt al-jiha mumtani'). It follows that the description of the vision is among the ambiguities, and so it is obligatory to assent to it while believing in its reality. Similarly, the affirmation of the Hand and the Face are right (haqq) in our School, known in principle (ma'lūmun biaṣlihi) but ambiguous in description (mutashābihun biwaṣfihi). It is not permitted to invalidate the principle on the grounds that one is unable to comprehend the descrip-

Hence the invalidity of Ibn Taymiyya's claim in al-Iklīl fīl-Mutashābih in the Majmū' al-Fatāwā (13:309-310) that since "Mālik did not say that the modality was nonexistent but only that it was unknown", resignation (tafwid) consists only in the resignation of the modality (kayfiyya) and not that of meaning (ma'nā). This argument banks on an anomalous version of Mālik's statement on istiwā' cf. our Four Imāms. Mālik said the modality is unthinkable (ghayru ma'qūl) i.e. nonexistent. Imām Aḥmad himself said: "We believe and confirm the hadiths of the Attributes without 'how' and without meaning" (see below, note 262). This is also Imam al-Baghawi's definition of tafwid in Sharh al-Sunna (1:170): "The Salaf of this Nation and the Scholars of the Sunna accepted all [the reports about the Attributes] with faith and avoided likening Allah to His creation and figurative interpretation. They committed (wakalū) all knowledge pertaining to them [the Attributes] to Allah." Imam al-Nawawi defines tafwid as the committal of meaning in countless places of his Sharh Sahih Muslim. Shaykh al-Islam Taqi al-Din al-Subki in al-Sayf al-Sagil (p. 128) pointed out that the inconceivability of the modality of istiwa' proved that it precluded the meaning of sitting. Similarly, al-Nabhānī in Shawāhid al-Haqq (p. 251) pointed out that "If the meaning of such verses were known it could not be other than in the sense in which the attributes of created entities are known, as in istiwa' in the sense of sitting (al-julūs) which we know in relation to ourselves, and this applies to the rest of the ambiguous terms." A more recent attempt to force this particular error of Ibn Taymiyya through the wall of correct doctrine can be seen in Mashhūr Salman's book al-Rudud wal-Ta' aqqubat (p. 67-84) in which he casts aspersions on Imam al-Nawawi's Sunni definition of tafwid.

tion. The Mu'tazila went astray only in this respect, for they rejected the principles because of their ignorance of the Attributes and became nullifiers-of-the-Attributes (mu'aṭṭila).

In his commentary on al-Pazdawī's *Uṣūl* entitled *Kashf al-Asrār* (1:55-60) Shaykh 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Bukhārī (d. 730) comments on the above passage:

By saying: "For us," the Shaykh shunned the position of those who say: "Allāh is not to be described as possessing a face and hands, rather, what is meant by the face is contentment (alridā) or the Essence (al-dhāt) and the like; and what is meant by the hand is power or favor and the like." The Shaykh therefore said: Rather, Allāh is described with the Attribute of Face and that of Hand, together with the upholding of His Transcendence (tanzīh) above having a form (sūra) and a limb (jāriha) [...]. Similarly with the affirmation of modality (ithbāt al-kayfiyya): its description is ambiguous, therefore it is obligatory to resign to it, firmly believing in its reality without busying oneself with interpretation.

Ibn Taymiyya also contradicted the Sunni definition of the *mutashābih* as formulated by Imām Abū Manṣūr 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī in *Uṣūl al-Dīn* in which the latter cites, among those who consider the verse of *istiwā*' one of the *mutashābihāt* or Qur'ānic ambiguities, Imām Mālik ibn Anas, the seven jurists of Madīna, and al-Aṣma'ī. This is also the position of Imām al-Khaṭṭābī in his commentary on Abū Dāwūd's *Sunan* with regard to the meaning of the ḥadīth of the "descent" of Allāh Most High to the nearest heaven: "This [ḥadīth] belongs to the knowledge in the outward expression of which we have been ordered to believe and not seek to disclose its inward sense. It is among the

many ambiguities (*mutashābih*) which Allāh has mentioned in His book." Mullā 'Alī al-Qārī states something similar with regard to the interpretation of the hadīth of the placing of the "Hand" of Allāh between the shoulders of the Prophet (in his dream), as narrated by al-Tirmidhī who declared it *hasan ṣaḥīh*:

It is of necessity absurd to interpret it as a real or literal manifestation (tajallī ḥaqīqī). Allāh has many kinds of manifestations (anwā min al-tajalliyāt) according to His Essence and Attributes. Likewise, He possesses all-encompassing power and ability, well beyond the angels and all others, to fashion forms and appearances. Yet He is Transcendent beyond possessing a body (jism), a form (sūra), and directions (jihāt) with respect to His Essence. These considerations help solve many of the purported difficulties in the ambiguous verses and the narrations of the Attributes. Allāh knows best the reality of spiritual stations and the minutiae of objectives.... If the ḥadīth is shown to have something in its chain that indicates forgery, then fine; otherwise, the door of figurative interpretation is wide and imperative (bāb altawīl wāsi un muḥattam).¹³

All the above evidence shows the fallacy of Ibn Taymiyya's typically over-reaching claim in the epistle entitled *al-Iklīl fīl-Mutashābih wal-Ta'wīl* that "I do not know any of the *Salaf* of the Community nor any of the Imāms, neither Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal nor other than him, that considered these [the Divine Names and Attributes] as part of the *mutashābih*." Worse, as Qāḍī Yūsuf al-Nabhānī pointed out in *Shawāhid al-Ḥaqq*, Ibn

¹² Al-Khattābī, Ma' ālim al-Sunan (Hims ed. 5:101).

¹³ Al-Qārī, al-Asrār al-Marfū'a (2nd ed. p. 209-210 \$209; 1st ed. p. 126 \$478).

¹⁴ In Majmū' at al-Rasā'il also compiled as Majmū' al-Fatāwā (13:294).

Taymiyya not only claimed to know the meaning of these verses, but also added categorical interpretive terms to their purported meanings, such as "literally" (haqīqatan) and "with His essence" (bi-dhātihi).¹⁵



Ibn Jahbal's refutation of Ibn Taymiyya remains one of the most precise statements of Sunni doctrine against anthropomorphism to date, together with Shaykh al-Islām al-Taqī al-Subki's al-Sayf al Ṣaqīl fīl-Radd 'alā Ibn Zafīl (a critique of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's Nūniyya poem), Ibn al-Jawzī's Daf' Shubah al-Tashbīh written against Abū Ya'lā al-Ḥanbalī and other anthropomorphists, and the great Shāfi'ī Faqīh of Damascus Taqī al-Dīn al-Ḥiṣnī's scathing critique of Ibn Taymiyya entitled Daf' Shubah man Shabbaha wa-Tamarrad wa-Nasaba Dhālika ilāl-Imām Aḥmad ("Repelling the Sophistries of the Rebel Who Likens Allāh to Creation Then Attributes this Doctrine to Imām Aḥmad"). Other refutations of the heresy of the jihawiyya were authored by the following authorities:

- Ḥujjat al-Islām Imām al-Ghazzālī has a section in his Qawā'id al-'Aqā'id in refutation of this heresy and also in al-Risālat al-Qudsiyya.
- His teacher Imām al-Ḥaramayn Ibn al-Juwaynī in Lumaʿ al-Adilla fi Qawāʿid ʿ Aqāʾid Ahl al-Sunna.

¹⁵ Al-Nabhānī in Shawāhid al-Ḥaqq (p. 251).

- The ḥadīth Master Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī al-Ḥanafī in his commentary on Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn titled Itḥāf al-Sādat al-Muttaqīn, section of the Qawā'id: "Direction does not surround Him and neither the earth nor the heavens are on different sides of Him."
- Imām al-Kamāl ibn al-Humām in *al-Musāyara*, an abridgment of al-Ghazzālī's *Qudsiyya*.
- Imām Ibn 'Abd al-Salām said in his Fatāwā that the most correct position concerning those who attribute direction to Allāh is is that they are not kāfir but mubtadi'. 16
- Imām Ibn al-Munayyir al-Mālikī refuted the jihawiyya heresy in his book al-Muntaqā fi Sharaf al-Muṣṭafā .
- Imām Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī in his refutation of the Karrāmiyya sect titled *Asās al-Taqdīs* (which Ibn Taymiyya attacked at length and aimed to refute in a book he called *al-Ta'sīs*) and in *al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr* for the verse {*He is the Omnipotent over His slaves*} (6:18, 6:61).
- Imām Shams al-Dīn Ibn al-Labbān in his book Radd Mabānī al-Āyāt al-Mutashābihāt ilā Maʿānī al-Āyāt al-Muḥkamāt.
- Imām al-Yāfi'ī in his book Nashr al-Maḥāsin.
- Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftazānī in Sharḥ al-Maqāṣid.
- Imam Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ramlī in his Fatāwā gave a long answer in refutation of this innovation.
- Shaykh al-Islām Taqī al-Din al-Subkī wrote in al-Durrat al-Muḍiyya:

¹⁶ Ibn 'Abd al-Salām, Fatāwā (p. 151-153).

When Ibn Taymiyya innovated whatever he innovated in the principles of Doctrine and destroyed the pillars and seams of the foundations of Islām after camouflaging himself with the pretense of following the Book and the Sunna, purportedly summoning people to the truth and guiding them to Paradise, he left conformity and entered innovation, strayed from the Congregation of the Muslims by violating the Consensus, and attributed to the Transcendent Essence what presupposes corporeality and compound nature.

- Imām al-Shaʿrānī discusses and rejects Ibn Taymiyya's view as non-Sunnī in three of his books: al-Yawāqīt wal-Jawāhir, al-Minan al-Kubrā and al-Kibrīt al-Aḥmar.
- Imām Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī in his Fatāwā Ḥadīthiyya declared it impermissible to attribute direction or height to Allāh Most High in the literal sense and blasted Ibn Taymiyya for holding this and other deviant views. Both he and al-Subkī attributed kufr to him in 'aqīda and countless innovations in the branches of the Law.¹⁷
- Qāḍī Yūsuf al-Nabhānī (1265-1350) refuted the same heresy in his recently republished Raf al-Ishtibāh fī Istihālat al-Jiha alā Allāh ("The Removal of Doubt Concerning the Impossibility of Direction for Allāh"). We will mention more refutations.

¹⁶ Reproduced in full in al-Nabhānī's Shawāhid al-Haqq (p. 210-240) and recently republished as a monograph.

¹⁷ Nu'mān al-Alūsī – the "Salafī" son of the famous commentator – took the side of Ibn Taymiyya and attacked al-Haytamī in an epistle entitled Jalā' al-'Aynayn bi-Muḥākamat al-Aḥmadayn which al-Nabhānī in the Shawāhid and others refuted point by point.

Ibn Jahbal described his work thus: "Know that these clear proofs which we enumerated and which we received from the Shavkhs of the Path, were themselves inferred from none other than the Glorious Book. But not everything that is in the Glorious Book can be known by each and every person. Each can only scoop up what his vessel can contain, no more and no less." Ibn Jahbal uses this simple and clear style to denounce out loud what everybody knows but no one is able to express about Ibn Taymiyya. He lays bare the intimidating manner in which Ibn Taymiyya produces avalanches of proofs that do not apply in reality, or are inauthentic, or both. In particular, Ibn Jahbal repeatedly emphasizes the gravity of discussing kalām issues in public in the guise of corrective da'wā and the fitna it causes for the majority of the public at large, a sin for which, no doubt, the greatest culprits in Islām have been the "Salafīs" and Wahhabīs in the wake of Ibn Taymiyya's legacy. Finally, he exposes Ibn Taymiyya's peculiar understanding of the basic elements of language such as prepositions, and reiterates the creed of Ahl al-Sunna one and all that Allah Most High exists beyond any attribution of time, space, place, dimension, corporeality, and direction.

﴿ عَالِمُ الْغَيْبِ وَالشَّهَادَةِ الْكَبِيرُ الْمُتَعَالُ ﴾ الرعد ١٠:١٣

﴿ وَالرَّاسِخُونَ فِي الْعِلْمِ يَقُولُونَ آمَنَّا بِهِ ﴿ كُلِّ مِنْ عِنْدِ رَبِّنَا ۗ وَ الرَّاسِخُونَ فِي الْعِلْمِ يَقُولُونَ آمَنَّا بِهِ ﴿ كُلِّ مِنْ عِنْدِ رَبِّنَا ۗ وَ مَا يَذَّكُرُ إِلَّا أُولُواْ الْأَلْبَابِ ﴾

آل عمران ۲:۳

{He is the Knower of the invisible and the visible, the Great, the High Exalted}
(13:9)

{And those who are of sound instruction say: We believe therein; the whole is from our Lord; but only people of understanding really heed}

(3:7)



IBN TAYMIYYA'S LIFE AND TEACHINGS

Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-Halīm ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī al-Oāsim ibn Taymiyya, Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās ibn Shihāb al-Dīn ibn Maid al-Din al-Harrani al-Dimashqi al-Hanbali (661-728) was one of the most influential scholars of the late Hanbali school, praised by al-Dhahabī as "greater than his life can be illustrated by the like of myself" and by the hadīth Master Şalāh al-Dīn al-'Alā'ī as "Our Shaykh, Master, and Imām between us and Allah &, the master of verification, the wayfarer of the best path, the owner of the multifarious merits and overpowering proofs which all hosts agree are impossible to enumerate, the Shavkh, the Imam and faithful servant of his Lord, the doctor in the Religion, the Ocean, the light-giving Pole of spirituality, the leader of Imams, the blessing of the Community, the sign-post of the people of knowledge, the inheritor of Prophets, the last of those capable of independent legal reasoning, the most unique of the scholars of the Religion, Shaykh al-Islām [...]" Later, both al-Dhahabī and al-'Alā'ī changed their minds and the latter went on to list the matters in which Ibn Taymiyya went astray.

Al-'Alā'ī's Summary of Ibn Taymiyya's Deviations

Ibn Ṭūlūn said in Dhakhā'ir al-Qaṣr fī Tarājim Nubalā' al-' Aṣr:

The hadīth Master Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-ʿAlāʾī said: "List of the matters in which Ibn Taymiyya contravened the people [of knowledge] in the foundations and the branches. Among them are the matters in which he violated Consensus, and among them those in which he contravened the correct position in the [Hanbalī] School.

"Of those matters is the swearing of a [conditional] oath to divorce (yamīn al-ṭalāq). He said divorce does not take place when the condition of the oath is met but all that one has to do is pay or perform an expiation for perjury (kafjārat yamīn). Not one of the Jurists of the Muslims before him ever said that such an expiation was valid. He gave this fatwā for a long time. The matter grew such that huge masses of the uneducated public fell into imitating him and general disaster ensued. He also said that the divorce of a woman in menses does not take effect; nor does it take effect in the non-menstrual cycle either, if the husband has intercourse with his wife; that the triple divorce amounts to one, although he had reported the Consensus of the Muslims to the contrary in the matter, and said that whoever violates it

commits apostasy; then he violated it and caused a great many people to fall into the same violation.

"He also said that if one deliberately misses a prayer, it is not lawful to make it up; that a woman in menses may circumambulate the House without owing any expiation and that it is permissible for her; that taxes are licit to take by those who allocate them; that taxes taken from merchants fulfill their zakāt obligation even if not levied under the name, nor in the form, of zakāt; that liquids do not become impure if a mouse or the like dies in them; that the person in a state of major ritual impurity (al-junub) can pray his supererogatory night prayers with dry ablution (tayammum) and that he does not wait until he washes with water in order to pray if the time for fair has entered, even if he is at home. I saw one of his imitators doing this and I forbade him to do it. [...] He was also asked about the sale of female slaves who gave birth to their master's child or children and he said it is correct and gave fatwa to that effect.

"Among the doctrinal positions which no one [in Sunni Islām] held but he, is that of 'good and bad' (al-husn wal-qubḥ) [for Allāh], which is the belief of the Mu'tazila. He adopted their position, defended it, wrote in support of it, and represented it as the Religion of Allāh [...]. Among his doctrinal positions is the claim that created matters subsist in Allāh – greatly exalted is He above what he claimed! – and that He is made of parts and needs a hand, an eye, a foot, and the like in the way the whole needs the part; that the Qur'ān is created in His Essence; that the world is 'generically pre-existent' (qadīmun bil-naw') and that it was always with Allāh without beginning, created but everlasting, thus representing

Allāh as forced and not freely choosing to act – exalted is He, how patient and gentle He is! He also believed in the corporeality, direction, and displacement of Allāh Who is exalted beyond such things. He wrote in one of his books that Allāh is the same size as the Throne, neither larger nor smaller – exalted is Allāh beyond that! He authored a book stating that the knowledge of Allāh does not apply to infinites such as the bliss of the people of Paradise and that it does not encompass infinites. This is the issue over which the foot of the Imām slipped [i.e. Imām al-Ḥaramayn Ibn al-Juwaynī in his book al-Burhān].

"Among his lone doctrinal positions is the claim that Prophets are not immune to sin, that our Prophet has no special status before Allāh, and that he cannot be used as an intermediary except if someone is mistakenly doing so. He authored many pages on this. He also said that the undertaking of travel to the Prophet in order to visit him is a sin and that it is unlawful to shorten the prayers during such travel. He insisted on this a great deal. None of the Muslims ever said this before him.

"He also said that the punishment of the people of the Fire will come to an end and not last eternally. Among his lone positions also is that the actual words of the Torah and the Gospel were not substituted (*lam tubaddal*) but remain in the exact same form in which they had been revealed, and that corruption (*al-taḥrīf*) took place only with regard to their interpretation (*ta'wīlihā*). He authored a book on this.

"This is the last that I saw in the matter. I ask forgiveness of Allāh for writing such things, besides strenuously clearing myself of holding them!"

His Teachers and Students

A student of Ibn 'Abd al-Dā'im, al-Qāsim al-Irbilī, Ibn 'Allān, and Ibn Abī 'Amr al-Fakhr, Ibn Taymiyya mostly read by himself until he achieved great learning. Shaykh al-Islām, al-Ḥāfiz al-Taqī al-Subkī said: "He memorized a lot and did not discipline himself with a shaykh." He taught, authored books, gave formal legal opinions, and generally distinguished himself for his quick wit and photographic memory.

Among his most noted students were the ḥadīth masters Ibn al-Qayyim, the closest student; al-Dhahabī, the senior companion by far; Ibn Kathīr and Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Hādī al-Maqdisī, who were both in their twenties when he died; and the Ḥanbalī jurist and ḥadīth narrator Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar ibn 'Alī ibn Mūsā al-Azjī al-Bazzār (688-749) who should not be confused with the ḥāfiz Abū Bakr al-Bazzār (215-292).

¹⁹ Al-Subkī, *Fatāwā* cited in his *al-I'tibār* (3rd epistle of *al-Durrat al-Muḍiyya* p. 59). The Scholars said, as a rule, "Do not take knowledge from someone who took his knowledge from books." Cf. al-Zabīdī, *Itḥāf al-Sādat al-Muttaqīn* (1:67).

Divided Opinions Concerning Him

Ibn Taymiyya's views and manners created intense controversy both during his lifetime and after his death. Ibn Rajab relates that 'Imād al-Dīn al-Wāsiṭī admired Ibn Taymiyya to the point that he swore to his greatness and studied under him although older than him, yet "he and a group of his close companions at times condemned what they heard the Shaykh say against some of the major great Imāms or against the ascetics and so forth."²⁰ Al-Sakhāwī in al-I'lān wal-Tawbīkh (p. 61) noted: "Certain people gave rise to disavowal and a general reluctance to make use of their knowledge despite their stature in knowledge, pious scrupulousness, and asceticism. The reason for this was the looseness of their tongues and their tactlessness in blunt speech and excessive criticism, such as Ibn Ḥazm and Ibn Taymiyya, who were subsequently tried and harmed."

An illustration of Ibn Taymiyya's ambivalent status is the fact that, although the Shāfiʿī ḥadīth Master al-Mizzī did not call anyone else "Shaykh al-Islām" in his time besides Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn Abī 'Umar al-Ḥanbalī, and Imām Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī, 21 the Ḥanafī Scholar 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Bukhārī issued a fatwā that if

²⁰ Ibn Rajab, Dhayl Țabaqăt al-Ḥanābila (2:394).

²¹ Cf. Ibn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shafiʿīyya al-Kubrā* (10:195) and al-Sakhāwī's introduction to al-Jawāhir wal-Durar.

anyone called Ibn Taymiyya "Shaykh al-Islām" they would commit disbelief²² and authored against the latter a book titled *al-Muljima līl-Mujassima* ("Curbing the Anthropomorphists").²³

Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Dimashqī countered this fatwā by authoring al-Radd al-Wāfir, in which he listed all the authorities who had ever written in praise of Ibn Taymiyya or called him Shaykh al-Islām. Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī in his certificate (taqrīz) on al-Radd al-Wāfir wrote: "Nevertheless, he was a human being who sometimes erred and sometimes was right. Whatever he was right in – and this is the greater part – is available for benefit and is a cause for our asking for mercy for him. Whatever he erred in, he should not be imitated in it; rather, he is excused." Shaykh 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda in his book al-'Ulamā' al-'Uzzāb includes Ibn Taymiyya among the scholars who never married and names him "Shaykh al-Islām and the Standard-Bearer of all standard-bearers."

23 Cf. al-Kawthari, Magalat (p. 413).

Cf. al-Sakhāwī, al-Daw' al-Lāmi ' (9:292) and Ḥajjī Khalīfa, Kashf al-Zunūn (1:838).

Al-Dhahabī's Synopsis of His Case

In Bayan Zaghl al-'Ilm al-Dhahabī writes:

If you were to excel in the Principles (al-Usul) and their affiliates - logic, ethics, philosophy, the sayings of the ancients and the conundrums - all the while protecting yourself with the Book and the Sunna as well as the doctrines of the Salaf, then joined between reason and transmission, still, I do not think you would reach the level of Ibn Taymiyya. No, by Allāh! You would not even come near it. Yet, I saw what happened to him - how much opposition he faced, desertion, rightful and wrongful declarations of heresy, apostasy, and mendacity! Before he entered into this science [i.e. Islamic Doctrine], he was shining with light and enlightening others, bearing the marks of the Salaf on his face. Then he became lightless, dark and somber to countless droves of people, a wicked Anti-Christ and disbeliever according to his enemies, while great numbers of the wise and the elite considered him an eminent, brilliant, and scholarly innovator (mubtadi' fāḍil muhaggig bāri'), while the commonality of his uneducated friends, one and all, deemed him the standard-bearer of Islām, the defender of the Religion, and the reviver of the Sunna."24

²⁴ Al-Dhahabī, Bayān Zaghl al-'Ilm (p. 23-24), also cited in al-Sakhāwī, al-I'lān (p. 78).

Al-Dhahabī in the '*Ibar*, after praising his teacher, states: "He also had some strange opinions on account of which he was attacked." Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī in *al-'Uqūd al-Durriyya* makes a similarly meandrous admission that his teacher committed innovation: "He gave vent to certain expressions which early and late Scholars never dared use while he boldly indulged them."

In his biographical monograph al-Durrat al-Yatīmiyya fīl-Sīrat al-Taymiyya, al-Dhahabī reports that Ibn Daqīq al-'Īd – the Renewer of the seventh century – said, upon meeting with Ibn Taymiyya: "I saw a man with all the sciences [laid open] before his eyes, taking what he wished and leaving what he wished." Asked why he did not debate him, Ibn Daqīq al-'Īd answered: "Because he loves to speak (yuḥibbu al-kalām) and I love silence."

"He was Very Learned but Lacked Intelligence"

Imām Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī said: "The Shaykh, Imām, and erudite scholar Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Taymiyya – Allāh have mercy on him! – was immensely learned but he had a defective intelligence ('aqluhu nāqiṣ) that embroiled him in perils and made him fall into hardships."²⁸

Al-Dhahabī, al-'Ibar (4:84).

Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī, al-' Ugūd al-Durriyya (p. 117).

As cited by Abū Ghudda in al-'Ulamā' al-'Uzzāb (p. 169) from Ibn al-Wardī's citation of al-Dhahabī in his Tatimmat al-Mukhtaşar fi Akhbār al-Bashar (2:406-413).

Al-Ṣafadī, Sharḥ Lāmiyyat al-ʿAjam līl-Tughrāī, in al-Nabhānī, Shawāhid (p. 189).

The Ḥanbalīs' Prohibition Against Him Giving Fatwā

Ibn Rajab wrote:

Large groups of the Imāms of Ahl al-Ḥadīth and their ḥadīth Masters and Jurists loved the Shaykh and venerated him but they disliked that he was involved with the theologians and philosophers, for uninvolvement was the way of the early Imāms of Ahl al-Ḥadīth such as al-Shāfiʿī, Aḥmad, Isḥāq, Abū ʿUbayd and the like. Similarly, many of the Ulema among the Jurists, the ḥadīth Scholars, and the righteous hated his idiosyncratic promotion of certain aberrant matters which the Salaf had condemned together with those who promoted them, to the point that one of the judges among our companions forbade him to give fatwā in some of those instances.²⁹

In his brief Radd 'alā man Ittaba'a Ghayr al-Madhāhib al-Arba'a, in which he castigates anyone that claims ijtihād outside the Four Sunni Schools, Ibn Rajab unmistakenly points the finger at Ibn Taymiyya when he writes: "Do not pass judgement on all Divisions of the Believers as if you were given knowledge they were not or reached a state that they did not!"

²⁹ Ibn Rajab, Dhayl Tabaqāt al-Ḥanābila (2:394).

The Fatwā Ḥamawiyya Attributing Direction to Allāh 😹

His first clash with the scholars occurred in 698 in Damascus when he was barred from teaching after he issued his Fatwā Ḥamawiyya in which he unambiguously attributes literal upward direction to Allāh . He was refuted by his contemporary, Imām Ibn Jahbal al-Kilābī (d. 733) in a lengthy reply – translated in this book – which Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī reproduced in full in Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyya al-Kubrā. Ibn Jahbal wrote: "How can you say that Allāh is literally (ḥaqīqatan) in (fī) the heaven, and literally above (fawq) the heaven, and literally in (fī) the Throne, and literally on (ʿalā) the Throne??" 31

Qāḍī Yūsuf al-Nabhānī also refuted the Ḥamawiyya in his magnificent epistle Rafʿ al-Ishtibāh fī Istiḥālat al-Jihaʿalā Allāh ("The Removal of Uncertainty Concerning the Impossibility of Direction for Allāh ") cited in full in his Shawāhid al-Ḥaqq.

Muḥammad Sa'īd ibn 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī al-Naqshbandī (d. 1339) wrote another refutation, as of yet unpublished, titled *al-Wajh fī Ibṭāl al-Jiha* in thirty-six folios.³²

31 See below (§113) cf. Ibn al-Subkī, Ţabaqāt al-Shāfi īyya al-Kubrā (9:61).

³⁰ There had been a precedent to the scandal as early as 690 cf. Ibn Rajab, Dhayl Tabaqāt al-Ḥanābila (2:389).

³² Cf. 'Imād 'Abd al-Salām Ra'ūf, al-Āthār al-Khaṭṭiyya fil-Maktabat al-Qādiriyya fī Baghdād (2:493 ms. 642).

Imām al-Kawtharī penned another refutation, Khuṭūrat al-Qawli bil-Jiha ("The Gravity of the Doctrine that Attributes Direction [to Allāh [38]]") in which he reports al-Bayāḍī's explanation of Imām Abū Hanīfa's statement: "Whoever says 'I do not know whether my Lord is in the heaven or on earth' is a disbeliever and, similarly, whoever says, 'He is on the Throne and I do not know whether the Throne is in the heaven or on earth' is a disbeliever." Al-Bayāḍī said in Ishārāt al-Marām:

This is because he implies that the Creator has a direction and a boundary, and anything that possesses direction and boundary is necessarily created. So this statement explicitly attributes imperfection to Allāh . The believer in [Divine] corporeality and direction is someone who denies the existence of anything other than objects that can be pointed to with the senses. They deny the Essence of the Deity Who is transcendent beyond that. This makes them positively guilty of disbelief.³⁴

34 Al-Kawthari, Magalat (p. 368-369).

³³ In al-Fiqh al-Absat ("The Greatest Wisdom"), the same work as the Fiqh al-Akbar but in catechistic form narrated from the Imām exclusively by Abū Muṭīʻ al-Ḥakam ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim al-Balkhī al-Khurāsānī through Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī al-Alma'ī al-Kāshgharī (d. >484), both of them discarded as narrators.

His Several Imprisonments

Ibn Taymiyya then returned to his activities until he was summoned by the authorities again in 705 to answer for his 'Aqīda Wāsiṭiyya. He spent the following few years in and out of jail in Cairo and Damascus or defending himself from various "abhorrent charges" according to Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī. Because he officially repented, his life was spared, although at one point it was proclaimed in Damascus that "Whoever follows the beliefs of Ibn Taymiyya, his life and property are licit for seizure."

These events instigated great dissension among the scholars in Damascus and Cairo as detailed by the Shāfiʿī Imām Taqī al-Dīn al-Ḥiṣnī (d. 829) in his Dafʿ Shubahi Man Shabbaha wa-Tamarrad.³⁵

³⁵ Published in Cairo at Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-' Arabiyya, 1931.

His Equivocations Under Interrogation

Ibn Taymiyya at various times declared himself a follower of the Shāfi'ī school – as did many Ḥanbalīs in Damascus – and an Ash'arī. Ibn Ḥajar wrote in *al-Durar al-Kāmina*:

An investigation [of his views] was conducted by several scholars and a written statement was drawn up in which he said: "I am Ash' arī." 36 We find in his handwriting, verbatim: "I believe that the Qur'an is a meaning which exists in the Divine Essence, and that it is an Attribute from the pre-eternal Attributes of His Essence, and that it is uncreated, and that it does not consist in the letter nor the voice, and that His saying: {The Merciful established Himself over the Throne} (20:5) is not meant literally (laysa 'alā zāhirihi), and I do not know of what consists its meaning but only Allah knows it, and one speaks of His 'descent' in the same way as one speaks of His 'establishment.' It was written by Ahmad ibn Taymiyya." They witnessed that he had repented of his own free will from everything that contravened the above. This took place on the 25th of Rabi' al-Awwal 707 and it was witnessed by a huge array of scholars and others.37

36 Cf. al-Ḥiṣnī, Daf Shubah (p. 43-45).

³⁷ The names of the scholars who counter-signed Ibn Taymiyya's deposition are listed by al-Kawthari in his notes to Ibn al-Subki's *al-Sayf al-Şaqil* (p. 95-96).

Al-Ṭūfī's Summary of Ibn Taymiyya's Deviations

The Ḥanbalī scholar of prodigious memory, specialist of principles, canonical readings, Qur'ān commentary, Ḥanbalī and Shāfi'ī jurisprudence, belles-lettres and medicine, Najm al-Dīn Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Qawī al-Ṭūfī (657-716)³⁸ – whom al-Dhahabī admired – said:³⁹

He [Ibn Taymiyya] could bring up in one hour from the Book, the Sunna, the Arabic language, and philosophical speculation, material which no one could bring up even in many sessions, as if these sciences were before his very eyes and he was picking and choosing from them at will. A time came when his companions took to over-praising him and this drove him to be satisfied with himself until he became conceited before his fellow human beings. He became convinced that he was a scholar capable of independent reasoning (mujtahid). Henceforth he began to answer each and every scholar great and small, past and recent, until he went all the way back to 'Umar and faulted him in some matter. This reached the ears of Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Rāqī who reprimanded him. Ibn Taymiyya went to see him, apologized, and

39 In Ibn Ḥajar's al-Durar al-Kamina (1:153-155).

³⁸ Obitus per Ibn 'Imad and Ibn Hajar while later biographers said 710.

asked forgiveness. He also spoke against 'Alī and said: "He made mistakes in seventeen different matters." [...]

Because of his fanatic support of the Ḥanbalī School he attacked the Ash'arīs until he started to insult al-Ghazzālī, at which point some people opposed him and almost killed him. [...] They asserted that he had blurted out certain words concerning doctrine which came out of his mouth in the course of his sermons and legal pronouncements. They mentioned that he had cited the ḥadīth of the descent of Allāh (to the nearest heaven), then climbed down two steps from the pulpit and said: "Just like this descent of mine" and so was branded as an anthropomorphist. They also cited his censure of whoever uses the Prophet as an intermediary or seeks help from him (aw istaghātha). [...]

People were divided into parties because of him. Some considered him an anthropomorphist because of what he mentioned in al-'Agīda al-Ḥamawiyya, al-'Agīda al-Wāsitiyya, and other books of his, to the effect that the Hand, Foot, Shin, and Face are literal Attributes of Allah and that He is established upon the Throne with His Essence. It was said to him that were this the case, He would necessarily be subject to spatial confinement (al-tahayyuz) and divisibility (al-ingisām). He replied: "I do not concede that spatial confinement and divisibility are necessarily properties of bodies," so it was concluded against him (ulzima) that he held the Divine Essence to be subject to spatial confinement. Others considered him a heretic (zindia) due to his saying that the Prophet # is not to be sought for help and the fact that this amounted to diminishing and undermining the greatness of the Prophet . [...] Others considered him a secret disbeliever (munāfiq) because of what he said about 'Alī: [...] namely, that he had been forsaken everywhere he went, had repeatedly tried to acquire the caliphate and never attained it, fought out of lust for power rather than religion, and said that "he loved leadership while 'Uthmān loved money." He would say that Abū Bakr had declared Islām in his old age, fully aware of what he said, while 'Alī had declared Islām as a boy, and a boy's Islām is not considered sound upon his mere word. [...] In sum, he said ugly things such as these, and it was said against him that he was a hypocrite, in view of the Prophet's \$\mathbb{Z}\$ saying (to 'Alī): "Only a hypocrite has hatred for you."

Al-Bukhārī narrated that the Prophet \$\mathscr{a}\$ came in and saw 'Alī and Fāṭima sleeping, whereupon he said: "Are you not praying?" 'Alī said: "Our souls are in the Hand of Allāh..." The Prophet \$\mathscr{a}\$ walked away, slapping his thigh and saying {Man disputes much} (18:54). Ibn Taymiyya commented in his \$Fatāwā\$ (15:229): "This is blameworthy disputation [...] and is one of the kinds of arguments used by the Qadariyya sect." Such an explanation has no precedent.

⁴⁰ Narrated from 'Alī by Muslim, al-Tīrmidhī, al-Nasā'ī, and Aḥmad.

His Former Admiration of Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī

Another reason why Ibn Taymiyya was opposed was his disrespect of Sufis, particularly Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī, although he described himself, in his letter to the Sufi Shaykh Abū al-Fatḥ Naṣr al-Manbijī, as a former admirer of the Shaykh al-Akbar:

From Aḥmad ibn Taymiyya to the Shaykh, the Knower, the Exemplar, the Wayfarer, the Worshipful Abū al-Fatḥ Naṣr [...]. I was previously one of those who used to hold the best opinion of Ibn 'Arabī and extol his praise, because of the benefits I saw in his works, such as what he said in many of his books, for example: al-Futūḥāt, al-Kunh, al-Muḥkam al-Marbūṭ, al-Durrat al-Fākhira, Maṭāli' al-Nujūm, and other such works.⁴¹

Ibn Taymiyya also acknowledged the reality of the God-given, extraordinary spiritual unveilings or *kashf* that take place at the hands of the Friends of Allāh, saying: "It is established that the *awliyā* possess spiritual communications and unveilings" (*faqad thabata anna li-awliyā*' Allāhi mukhāṭabātin wa-mukāshafāt). ⁴²

⁴² Ibn Taymiyya, al-Furqan (p. 52).

¹¹ Ibn Taymiyya, *Tawhīd al-Rubūbiyya* in *Majmū* 'al-Fatāwā (2:452, 464-465). After he finished reading the letter, Shaykh Abū al-Fatḥ al-Manbijī had King Baybars Jāshangīr arrest Ibn Taymiyya and incarcerate him.

In our time, most of his purported followers and imitators as well as modernists reject this miraculous and, in their view, elitist aspect of Islām under the misguided impression that it suggests that the Prophetic Dispensation needs additions or completions! A "Salafī" editor even takes Yūsuf ibn 'Abd al-Hādī to task for expressing his belief in *kashf*.⁴³

His Sufi Affiliation With the Qādirī *Țarīga*

The Ḥanbalī Sufi Yūsuf ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abd al-Ḥādī, known as Ibn al-Mibrad (d. 909), in his Bad' al-'Ilqa bi-Labs al-Khirqa narrates Ibn Taymiyya's declaration that he is a follower of several Sufi paths, among them the Qādirī path of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Gīlānī: "I have worn the Sufi cloak (khirqat al-taṣawwuf) of a number of Shaykhs belonging to various ṭarīqas (min ṭuruqi jamā'atin min al-shuyūkh), among them Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlī, whose ṭarīqa is the greatest of the well-known ones" and again: "The greatest ṭarīqa (ajallu al-ṭuruq) is that of my Master (sayyidī) Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlī."

⁴⁵ Jäsim al-Dawsarī in his notes on Yūsuf ibn 'Abd al-Hādī's al-Qawā' id al-Kulliyya (Bashā'ir ed. p. 29).

See George Makdisī, "L'isnād initiatique soufi de Muwaffaq ad-Dīn Ibn Qudāma," in Cahiers de l'Herne: Louis Massignon (Paris: Editions de l'Herne, 1970) p. 88-96; "Ibn Taimiya: A Sufi of the Qadiriya Order," in American Journal of Arabic Studies I (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974) p. 118-129; and "The Ḥanbalī School and Sufism," in Boletín de la Asociación Española de Orientalistas 15 (Madrid, 1979) p. 115-126. Based on Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī's Bad' al-'Ilqa bi-Labs al-Khirqa, ms. al-Hādī, Princeton Library Arabic Collection, fos. 154a, 169b, 171b-172a; and Damascus University, copy of original Arabic manuscript, 985Ḥ; also mentioned in al-Ṭalyānī cf. below.

Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī cites Ibn Taymiyya's Sufi silsila thus:

- i. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Gīlānī
- ii.-iii. Abū 'Umar ibn Qudāma and Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn Qudāma
- iv. Ibn Abī 'Umar ibn Qudāma
- v. Ibn Taymiyya
- vi. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya
- vii. Ibn Rajab

[§ii. and §iii. both received the khirqa from al-Gīlānī himself.]

Ibn Taymiyya gave further corroboration of "only two links" separating him from Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Gīlānī in al-Mas'alat al-Tabrīziyya where he declares: "I wore the blessed Sufi cloak of 'Abd al-Qādir, there being between him and me two Shaykhs (Labistu al-khirqat al-mubāraka līl-Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir wa-baynī wa-baynahu ithnān)." This is quoted in a unique manuscript of the work Targhīb al-Mutaḥābbīn fī Labs Khirqat al-Mutamayyizīn by Jamāl al-Dīn at-Ṭalyānī. 46

On Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir's *Futūḥ al-Ghayb*, Ibn Taymiyya wrote a hundred-page partial commentary covering only five of the seventy-eight sermons of the book.⁴⁷ The substance of this commentary aims to show that orthodox *taṣawwuf* is in consonance with Qur'ān and Ḥadīth and the Consensus of the Community.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Ms. Damascus, Zāhiriyya §1186 H.

⁴⁶ Al-Talyani, manuscript Chester Beatty 3296 (8) in Dublin, fo 67a.

⁴⁷ The commentary is found in the tenth volume of the first Riyadh edition of the Majmū' Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya (10:455-548). It is published in full [200 p.] as Sharh Futūh al-Ghayb lil-Imām al-Rabbānī 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (Damascus: Dār al-Qādirī, 1995).

⁴⁸ As Ibn al-Qayyim wrote in his poem *al-Nūniyya*: "Ahl al-Ḥadīth, all of them, and the Imāms of Fatwā are Sufis"!

Insofar as the goal of taṣawwuf is the purification of the heart by progress through states (aḥwāl) and stations (maqāmāt), Ibn Taymiyya in al-Tuḥfat al-ʿIrāqiyya (al-Zarqā, Jordan 1978, p.18) imitated Imām al-Ghazālī's fatwā in al-Munqidh min al-Dalāl in considering taṣawwuf obligatory upon every Muslim, naming it aʿmāl al-qulūb.

His Innovative Nullification of Triple Divorce

Further charges of heresy were brought against Ibn Taymiyya for his assertions on divorce pronounced in innovative fashion in violation of Consensus. He held that:

- (1) a threefold formulation of divorce in a single sitting counted as one;
- (2) divorce pronounced at the time of menses did not take effect; and
- (3) swearing a vow to divorce could be taken back through expiation (*kaffāra*), in violation of the Consensus of the Four Imāms and others of the *Salaf*.⁴⁹

Following this, 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Bukhārī issued his infamous fatwā. Shaykh al-Islām Taqī al-Subkī said: "Ibn Taymiyya has spread deceit in [affirming] the existence of a difference of opinion in the matter [of divorce], which is a lie, a fabrication, and impudence on his part against Islām. [...] It has been affirmed by many of the Scholars that he who opposes the Consensus (alijmā') of the Community is a disbeliever (kāfir)."50

⁵⁰ Al-Subki, al-Durrat al-Mudiyya fil-Radd 'alā Ibn Taymiyya (1st epistle, Naqd al-Ijtima' p. 12, 14).

⁴⁹ The Hanbali Madhhab disagrees with him on the first two points but agrees with him on the third cf. Ibn Qudama, Kāfī (4:419), Majd al-Dīn Ibn Taymiyya, Muḥarrar (2:199-200), al-Mardāwi, Inṣāf (11:121), al-Buhūtī, Rawd (3:377), Ibn Muflih, Mubdi (9:328), al-Ḥajjāwi, Zād al-Mustaqni (p. 245).

Ibn Rajab Supports then Rejects His *Fatwā* on Divorce

Ibn Rajab first wrote al-Aḥādīth wal-Āthār al-Mutazāʾida fī anna al-Ṭalāqa al-Thalāthata Wāḥida in which he supported Ibn Taymiyya's position that a triple divorce in one sitting counts as one divorce. Then, after further analyzing the ḥadīths relevant to the topic, he revised his position and issued his Mushkil al-Ahādīth al-Wārida anna al-Ṭalāqa al-Thalāthata Wāḥida in which he refuted Ibn Taymiyya's position with the words:

Know that nothing explicit whatsoever is established as authentic from any of the Companions, nor any of the Successors, nor any of the Imāms of the Salaf, whose word is relied upon in halāl and harām fatwās, that a triple divorce after consummation counts as one when pronounced in a single formula.⁵¹

Ibn Ḥajar relates, "Ibn Rajab was criticized for giving fatwā according to the positions of Ibn Taymiyya but when he dissociated himself from them the Taymiyyans ostracized him." ⁵²

In his defense of Ibn Taymiyya titled Sayr al-Ḥāthth ilā 'Ilm al-Ṭalāq al-Thalāth, Yūsuf Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī disputed the above summation by Ibn Rajab although he readily admitted that "the

⁵¹ In Yūsuf Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī, Sayr al-Ḥāthth (p. 31).

position that the triple divorce counts as three divorces is the sound and true position of the [Ḥanbalī] School" and that it is that of "Aḥmad, al-Shāfi'ī, Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik, al-Thawrī, Ibn Abī Laylā, and al-Awzā'ī [...] and in Ibn al-Mundhīr's al-Ijmā' is an indication that there is Consensus over it although not explicit." Ibn al-Mundhir did cite Consensus that if a man tells his wife "You are divorced three times less two" she is divorced once, and that if he tells her "You are divorced three times less one" she is divorced twice. Further, explicit Consensus is cited that three divorces in a single sitting count as three by:

- (1) Ibn 'Abd al-Barr in *al-Istidhkār* as quoted by Ibn Qaṭṭān al-Fāsī in his encyclopedia of Consensus titled *al-Iqnā* ' fī Masā'il al-Ijmā';
- (2) Ibn Hubayra in *al-Ijmā* 'inda A'immat Ahl al-Sunnati al-Arba'a; and
- (3) Ibn Ḥajar in Fatḥ al-Bārī.54

His Prohibition of Travel to Visit the Prophet

After spending the years 719-721 in jail, Ibn Taymiyya was jailed again in 726 until his death two years later amid charges of *kufr* for declaring – without precedent in Islām – that one who travels to visit the Holy Prophet appropriate commits a prohibition (*ḥarām*), a sin (*maʿṣiya*), and an innovation (*bidʿa*).

⁵³ Yūsuf Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī, Sayr al-Ḥāthth (p. 21-22).

⁵⁴ Ibn al-Mundhir, *Ijmā* (p. 66 §413-414), Ibn Qaṭṭān, *Iqnā* (3:1268-1272 §2317), Ibn Hubayra, *Ijmā* (p. 159), Ibn Hajar, *Fath* (9:365).

The Ḥanbalī Rejection of this Fatwā

Al-Mardāwī, Ibn Hubayra, and others stated that the entirety of the early and late authorities in the Ḥanbalī Madhhab stipulate the desirability (istiḥbāb) of visiting the grave of the Prophet in Madīna, most especially after Ḥajj, and/or traveling to do so. Ibn Mufliḥ, al-Mardāwī, and Marʿī ibn Yūsuf in Ghāyat al-Muntahā stated the Sunna character of visiting the graves of the Muslims and the permissibility (ibāḥa) of traveling to do so. Marʿī reiterates this ruling in his unpublished monograph on the ethics of graves and visitation, Shifāʾ al-Ṣudūr fī Ziyārat al-Mashāhid wal-Qubūr. Is said the entirety of the ethics of graves and visitation, Shifāʾ al-Ṣudūr fī Ziyārat al-Mashāhid wal-Qubūr.

A ninety-folio Zahiriyya ms. 8349 as per Riyād Mālih, Fahras Makhtūtāt Maktabat al-Zāhiriyya fil-Taṣawwuf (2:229 §1317) cf. Ibn Muflih, Mubdi (2:107), Mar i, Ghāya (1:258), al-Mardāwi, Insāf (2:317).

⁵⁵ Ibn Qudāma, al-Mughnī (3:117, 3:297, 5:465), al-Muqni (1:466), al-Kāfī (1:619); Ibn Muflih, al-Mubdi fī Sharḥ al-Muqni (3:259); al-Buhūtī, Kashshāf al-Qinā (2:514-515; 5:36), al-Rawā al-Murba (1:522); Ibn Dawyān, Manār al-Sabīl (1:256); Shams al-Din ibn Muflih, Furū (3:523); al-Ḥajjāwī, Iqnā (1:395); 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ba'lī, Kashf al-Mukhaddarāt (p. 193); Mar'ī, Ghāyat al-Muntahā (1:418), Dalīl al-Ṭalīb (p. 88); Aḥmad al-Ba'lī, al-Rawā al-Nadī (p. 190); Bahā al-Din al-Maqdisī, al-'Udda Sharḥ al-'Umda (p. 209); Ibn al-Najjār, Muntahā al-Irādāt (1:286); Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Madhab al-Aḥmad (p. 68); Shams al-Din Ibn Qudāma, al-Sharḥ al-Kabīr (3:494); al-Kalwādhānī, Hidāya (p. 105); Ibn Hubayra, Ifṣāḥ (1:297), al-Mardāwī, Inṣāf (4:53).

Shaykh al-Islām al-Subkī's Rejection of this *Fatwā*

This most notorious of all Taymiyyan fatwās was refuted by Ibn Taymiyya's contemporary the ḥadīth Master and Shaykh al-Islām Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī in his landmark book Shifā' al-Siqām fī Ziyārati Khayr al-Anām ("The Healing of Sickness Concerning the Visitation to the Best of Creatures") also titled Shann al-Ghāra 'alā man Ankara al-Safar lil-Ziyāra ("The Raid Against Him [Ibn Taymiyya] Who Denied the Lawfulness of Travel for the Purpose of Visitation"). Shaykh al-Islām adduced the ḥadīth "Whoever visits my grave, my intercession will be guaranteed for him" as proof against Ibn Taymiyya's claim that "all the ḥadīths that concern the merit of visitation are weak or rather forged" and denounced Ibn Taymiyya's unprecedented fatwā as a flagrant innovation.

 $^{^{57}}$ A claim heedlessly imitated by Ibn Taymiyya's followers in our time. On the hadith see further down (p. 59).

Shaykh al-Islām al-ʿIrāqī's Rejection of this *Fatwā*

Imām Abū al-Faḍl Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn al-Ḥusayn al-'Irāqī al-Miṣrī (725-806), Shaykh al-Islām, the Imām, Qāḍī of Cairo, ḥadīth Master of his time, and principal teacher of the ḥadīth Master Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, said in al-Ajwibat al-Makkiyya, a refutation of Ibn Taymiyya's fatwā claiming the prohibition of travel to visit the Prophet : "There is no taḥrīm (prohibition) of an act of travel in the ḥadīth ["Mounts are not to be saddled except to travel to three mosques"]; rather, it is an emphasis on the importance of traveling to these three mosques in particular, and the emphasis becomes an obligation in case of a vow (nadhr), which is not the case for a vow to pray in any mosque other than these three."

Al-'Irāqī further reacted to Ibn Taymiyya's claim that it was an innovation in the Religion to show generosity to relatives on the day of 'Āshūrā'⁵⁹ with the words: "I find it strange that such words should come from this Imām, whose followers say that he has encompassed the Sunna in knowledge and practice [...]. One who has not heard of something should not deny that it exists!" Al-'Irāqī then proceeded to show that, on the contrary, it was a Sunna based on sound narrations from the Prophet as

58 Cf. al- 'Iraqi, Tarh al-Tathrib (6:43).

⁵⁹ Cf. Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū al-Fatāwā (25:299-300) and his Minhāj (Sālim ed. 7:39).

well as the Companions and the Imams of the Successors and the succeeding generations.⁶⁰

Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Ḥajar's Rejection of this *Fatwā*

Imām Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī in Fatḥ al-Bārī said of Ibn Taymiyya's fatwā prohibiting travel in order to visit the Prophet : "This is one of the ugliest matters ever reported from him." 61

Ḥāfiẓ al-Ṣafadī's Rejection of this *Fatwā*

Al-Ṣafadī said:

Ibn Taymiyya gilded his statement Concerning the visit to the Best of Creation, Whereupon souls came in droves to complain To the best of scholars and purest of Imāms [i.e. al-Subkī] Who compiled this book, providing them with a cure And so it was indeed The Healing of Sickness.

⁶¹ Fath al-Bārī (1989 ed. 3:66). In his marginalia on that work the "Salafi" muftī Ibn Bāz comments: "This was not an ugly thing but a correct thing for Ibn Taymiyya to say"!

⁶⁰ See al-'Irāqī's *fatwā* in al-Nabhānī's *Shawāhid al-Ḥaqq* (p. 192-195) and its expurgated wording in the modern editions of Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn's *al-Radd al-Wāfir* (p. 108).

Ḥāfiẓ al-Qārī's Rejection of this *Fatwā*

Al-Qārī said in his commentary on 'Iyāḍ's al-Shifā':

Ibn Taymiyya – one of the Ḥanbalīs – committed excess when he declared it prohibited to travel to visit the Prophet \ref{phet} just as others also committed excess in saying that it is obligatory in the Religion to know that the Visitation is an act by which one draws near to Allāh (qurba) and whoever denies it is judged to be a disbeliever ($k\bar{a}fir$). Yet, the latter view is probably closer to being correct than the first, because to declare prohibited something the Ulema by Consensus declared desirable (mustahabb), is disbelief. For that is graver than to declare prohibited something agreed upon as merely permitted ($mub\bar{a}h$). 62

⁶² Al-Qari, Sharh al-Shifa' (2:514).

Imām al-Khafājī's Rejection of this *Fatwā*

Another Ḥanafī Imām who wrote a major commentary on 'Iyāḍ's *Shifā*', al-Khafājī, said of Ibn Taymiyya in relation to his heretical *fatwā*: "He imagined that he was defending monotheism with all kinds of nonsense which do not deserve mention for they do not originate from the mind of a rational person, let alone an eminent one – Allāh forgive him!" 63

Other Rejections of this Fatwā

Also rejecting Ibn Taymiyya's fatwā as invalid are Shaykh al-Islām 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn Jamā' a in the chapter on ziyāra in his massive Hidāyat al-Sālik ilā al-Madhāhib al-Arba' a fīl-Manāsik; Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad Zaynī Daḥlān in his books; Shaykh Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Nu'mān al-Maghribī al-Tilimsānī al-Mālikī in his Miṣbāḥ al-Zalām fīl-Mustaghīthīna bi-Khayr al-Anām; Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī al-Shāfi'ī – the author of the Sīra Ḥalabiyya – in his Bughyat al-Aḥlām, both of them

⁶³ In al-Nabhānī's Shawāhid (p. 185).

⁶⁴ In four volumes edited by Dr. Nür al-Dīn 'Itr (Beirut: Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyya, 1994) 4:1384.

included in al-Nabhānī's Ḥujjat Allāh 'alā al-'Ālamīn, among many other works on the topic of seeking an intermediary and asking the Prophet's help (al-tawassul wal-istighātha); al-Nabhānī with his Shawāhid al-Ḥaqq; Imām al-Lacknawī's three Urdu treatises against Muḥammad Bashīr al-Sahsawānī who had advocated not visiting the Prophet after pilgrimage; Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Alawī al-Mālikī in Shifā' al-Fu'ād fī Ziyārati Khayr al-'Ibād; Shaykh 'Īsā al-Ḥimyarī of Dubai; Sayyid Yūsuf al-Rifā'ī of Kuwait; and others.

Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī's Fanatic Defense of His Teacher

A Sufi but anti-Ash 'arī student of Ibn Taymiyya and al-Dhahabī, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Hādī violently attacked Shaykh al-Islām al-Subkī in a refutation entitled al-Ṣārim al-Munkī fī Naḥr al-Subkī ("The Hurtful Blade in the Throat of al-Subkī") in which he "adopted the manner of fanatics and departed from the norms of the scholars of ḥadīth," filling his book with unfounded accusations "in order to defend the innovations of his teacher [...]. It would have been better titled al-Shātim al-Ifkī ("The Mendacious Abuser")." He falsely accuses al-Subkī of encouraging pilgrimage to the Prophet's grave, prostration to it, circumambulating around it, and the belief that the Prophet removes difficulty, grants ease, and causes whoever he wishes to enter into Paradise, all independently of Allāh !!

66 Al-Nabhani, Shawahid al-Hagg (p. 275-276).

^{65 &#}x27;Abd al-'Azīz al-Ghumārī, al-Tahānī fīl-Ta' qīb 'alā Mawḍū' āt al-Ṣāghānī (p. 49).

Nu'mān al-Alūsī also wrote an attack on both al-Haytamī and al-Subkī titled *Jalā' al-' Aynayn* which he dedicated to the Indian Wahhābī Sufi, Şiddīq Ḥasan Khān al-Qinnawjī and in which, according to al-Nabhānī, he went even further than Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī.

Among the counter-refutations of these two works: Ibn 'Allān's al-Mubrid al-Mubkī fī Radd al-Ṣārim al-Munkī, al-Samannūdī's Nuṣrat al-Imām al-Subkī bi-Radd al-Ṣārim al-Munkī, a monograph by al-Akhnā'ī, and al-Nabhānī's Shawāhid al-Ḥaqq. ⁶⁷ The latter cites the poems of two other critics of al-Subkī – the Ḥanbalī Abū al-Muzaffar Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad ibn Mas'ūd al-'Ubadī al-'Uqaylī al-Saramrī and Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Yumnī al-Yāfi'ī, "who claimed to follow the Shāfi'ī school" – then proceeds to refute them together with Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī's book.

Belief in the infallibility of Ibn Taymiyya typifies a good deal of his supporters such as those mentioned above. Shaykh 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda said: "My teacher Shaykh Muḥammad Rāghib al-Ṭabbākh treated Ibn Taymiyya as if he were a Prophet!" The Ḥanbalī jurist Abū Ḥafṣ al-Bazzār (688-749) went so far as to claim it impossible for anyone but an "ostentatious world-crazed liar" to find fault with Ibn Taymiyya! 69

68 As related to the translator by Shaykh Mu'tazz al-Subaynī and others.

⁶⁷ Cf. al-Nabhānī, Shawāhid al-Ḥaqq (p. 241-247, 275-298).

⁶⁹ In his al-A'lām al-'Aliyya fī Manāqib Ibn Taymiyya (p. 82). "Salafīs" confuse him – unwittingly or otherwise –with Ḥāfiz al-Bazzār, the author of the Musnad, who died four and a half centuries earlier.

The Ḥadīth "Whoever Visits My Grave, My Intercession is Guaranteed for Him"

The ḥadīth "Whoever visits my grave, my intercession is guaranteed for him" (Man zāra qabrī wajabat lahu shafā atī) 10 is a fair

Narrated from Ibn 'Umar by al-Dāraquṭnī (2:278 §194), al-Ṭayālisī in his Musnad (2:12), al-Dūlābī in al-Kunā wal-Asmā' (2:64), al-Khatīb in Talkhīs al-Mutashābih fīl-Rasm (1:581), Ibn al-Dubaythī in al-Dhayl 'alā al-Tārīkh (2:170), Ibn Abī al-Dunyā in Kitāb al-Qubūr, al-Bayhaqī in Shuʿab al-Īmān (3:490), al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī in Nawādir al-Uşūl (p. 148), al-Haythamī (4:2), al-Subkī in Shifā' al-Sigām (p. 12-14), Abū al-Shaykh, Ibn 'Adī in al-Kāmil (6:235, 6:351), al-'Uqaylī in al-Du'afā' (4:170), al-Bazzār with a very weak chain containing 'Abd Allah ibn Ibrahîm al-Ghifarī [cf. Ibn Ḥajar's Mukhtaṣar (1:481 §822)] with the wording (1) "Whoever visits my grave, my intercession shall take place for him" (hallat lahu shafā atī), and Ibn Ḥajar who indicated its grade of hasan in Talkhīṣ al-Ḥabīr (2:266) as it is strengthened by other ḥadīths which both he and al-Haythami mention, such as: (2) "Whoever visits me without any avowed purpose other than my visit, it is incumbent upon me to be his intercessor on the Day of Resurrection." Narrated by al-Tabarani in al-Awsat and al-Kabir with a chain containing Maslama ibn Sālim and by Ibn al-Sakan in his Sunan al-Ṣiḥāḥ as stated by al-Shirbīnī in Mughnī al-Muḥtāj (1:512). (3) "Whoever makes pilgrimage then visits me after my death it is as if he visited me in my life." Narrated by al-Tabarānī in al-Kabīr (12:406), al-Dāragutnī (2:278), and al-Bayhaqi in al-Sunan al-Kubrā (5:246 §10054-10055) all through Ḥafs ibn Abī Dāwūd al-Qārī, whom only Aḥmad declared passable (sāliḥ). Mamdūh said (p. 337-340) it is more da' if than other weak hadiths in this chapter. (4) "Whoever visits my grave after my death is as those who visited me in my life." Narrated by al-Ţabarānī in al-Kabīr (12:406) and al-Awsat (1:94) with a chain containing 'Aisha bint Yūnus whose status is uncertain, and from Ḥāṭib by al-Dāraquṭnī (2:278) cf. al-Maqdisī, Faḍā'il al-A' māl (p. 108) with another chain which al-Dhahabī said was one of the best chains in that chapter. Mamdūḥ said (p. 330-334) it is da'īf but not mawdū', contrary to the claims of Ibn Taymiyya and his imitators. (5) "Whoever makes pilgrimage and does not visit me, has been rude to me." Narrated by al-Dāraquṭnī in Gharā'ib Mālik. Al-Lacknawī said in his Muwaṭṭa' marginalia: "It is not forged as Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn Taymiyya said, rather, a number of scholars considered its chain fair, and a number considered it weak." Mamduh (p. 344-346) considers it forged. Al-'Uqaylī in al-Du'afā' (4:170) declared the chains of

(hasan) narration as concluded by Imam 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Lacknawi, 71 his editor 'Abd al-Fattah Abu Ghudda, and Maḥmūd Mamdūh,72 although some early scholars had declared it sound (saḥīḥ) such as Ibn al-Sakan in al-Sunan al-Sihāh and 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī in al-Ahkām, followed by Shaykh al-Islām al-Taqī al-Subkī in Shifā' al-Siqām in view of the totality of the chains.73 Other hadith scholars who considered it authentic are the hadith Master Diva' al-Din al-Maqdisi in his Fada'il al-A'māl,74 Ibn Hajar and his student the hadīth Master al-Sakhāwī,75 the hadīth Master of Madīna Imām al-Samhūdī,76 Imām al-Haytamī in al-Jawhar al-Munazzam fi Ziyārat al-Qabr al-Mukarram, and Ahmad al-Ghumārī in Iḥyā' al-Maqbūr min Adillati Jawāz Binā' al-Masājid 'alā al-Qubūr (3rd ed. Cairo: Maktabat al-Qāhira, 2005). Al-Ghassānī (d. 682) did not include it in his documentation of al-Dāraqutnī's weak narrations entitled Takhrīj al-Ahādīth al-Di'āf min Sunan al-Dāraquṭnī.77

Ibn 'Umar's narration "soft" (*layyina*) as did al-Dhahabī, the latter adding – as did al-Bayhaqī and al-Fattanī in *Tadhkirat al-Mawdū'āt* – that they strengthened each other as none contains any liar nor forger, as stated by al-Suyūtī in *al-Durar al-Muntathira*, al-Munāwī in *Fayd al-Qadīr* (6:140), and al-'Ajlūnī in *Kashf al-Khafā* (2:328-329). The narration (6) "Whoever visits me in al-Madīna anticipating reward (*muḥtasiban*), 1 shall be for him a witness and an intercessor on the Day of Resurrection," narrated from Anas by al-Bayhaqī in *Shuʿab al-Īmān* (3:489-490), al-Jurjānī in *Tārīkh Jurjān* (p. 220, 433), Ibn Abī al-Dunyā, Ibn 'Asākir, al-Janadī, and others, through Abū al-Muthannā Sulaymān ibn Yazīd al-Madanī al-Ka'bī who was declared weak by al-Dāraquṭnī, Abū Ḥātim, and Ibn Ḥibbān while al-Tīrmidhī considered his narrations fair cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān* (7:481) and *Tahdhīb* (12:242). It was declared fair by al-Suyūṭī in al-*Jāmī' al-Ṣaghīr* (§8716) and "fair or rather sound through its corroborators" by al-Ghumārī in *al-Mudāwī* (6:290) in confirmation of al-Subkī in *Shiṭā' al-Siqām*.

⁷¹ In Zafar al-Amānī (p. 422) and al-Ajwibat al-Fāḍila (p. 155).

⁷² In his Raf al-Mināra (p. 280 and p. 318).

⁷³ As related by Ibn Ḥajar in *Talkhīṣ al-Ḥabīr* (2:267). Cf. al-Shawkānī in *Nayl al-Awṭār* (5:95) and al-Sindī in his notes on Ibn Mājah.

⁷⁴ Diya' al-Dīn al-Maqdisī, Fadā'il al-A' māl (p. 108).

⁷⁵ In Ibn Ḥajar's Talkhiş and Turuq Ḥadīth al-Ziyāra and al-Sakhāwi's al-Qawl al-Badī' (p. 160).

⁷⁶ In al-Samannūdī's Sa' ādat al-Darayn (1:77) and al-Samhūdī's Wafā al-Wafā.

Some late scholars, beginning with Ibn Taymiyya, remained undecided whether to grade this hadīth weak or forged.

Imām al-Lacknawī said about this ḥadīth:

There are some who declared it weak [e.g. al-Bayhaqī, Ibn Khuzayma, and al-Suyūtī], and others who asserted that all the ḥadīths on visitation of the Prophet are forged, such as Ibn Taymiyya and his followers, but both positions are false for those who were given right understanding, for verification of the case dictates that the ḥadīth is ḥasan, as Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī has expounded in his book Shifā' al-Siqām.⁷⁸

Among those who fall into the category of "Ibn Taymiyya and his followers" on this issue:

- Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī who wrote al-Ṣārim al-Munkī in rude refutation of al-Subkī's book on visitation, but contradicted his own position in another book of his: he makes much ado about the reliability of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar al-'Umarī in al-Ṣārim al-Munkī, but relies upon him in another book, al-Tanqīḥ!⁷⁹ Shaykh Maḥmūd Mamdūḥ refuted his weakening of this ḥadīth in great detail⁸⁰ and stated that al-Ṣārim al-Munkī is at the root of all subsequent generalizations in weakening the ḥadīths that concern the desirability of visitation.⁸¹
- The nawāb of Bhopal and Indian Sufi Wahhābī, Şiddīq Ḥasan Khān al-Qinnawjī in his travelogue entitled Riḥlat al-Ṣiddīq ilā al-Bayt al-ʿAtīq as critiqued by al-Lacknawī.⁸²

⁷⁷ Published at Riyadh: Där 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1991.

⁷⁸ Al-Lacknawi, Zafar al-Amānī (p. 422).

⁷⁹ Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī, al-Tangīḥ(1:122) as per Mamdūḥ in Raf' al-Mināra (p. 12).

⁸⁰ In Raf al-Mināra (p. 280-318).

⁸¹ In Raf al-Mināra (p. 9).

⁸² Al-Lacknawi, *Zafar al-Amānī* (p. 422 n.1), cf. his catalogue of al-Qinnawjī's mistakes entitled *Ibrāz al-Ghayy* which we mention further down in this book (p. 302).

- The late Wahhābī "Desert Storm" muftī, 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Bāz, who imitated Ibn Taymiyya's imprudent verdict: "The ḥadīths that concern the visitation of the grave of the Prophet are all weak, indeed forged";83
- The late Nāṣir al-Albānī 84 who claimed that the visit to the Prophet samong the innovations 85 although he himself is the rank arch-innovator of our time.
- Nāṣir al-Jadya', who in 1993 obtained his Ph.D. with First Honors from the University of Muḥammad ibn Sa'ūd after writing a 600-page book entitled al-Tabarruk in which he perpetuates the same aberrant claim.

(All these books are available in print but Shifa' al-Sigām!)

Imām al-Sakhāwī said:

⁸³ In his annotations on Ibn Ḥajar's Fath al-Bārī (1989 ed. 3:387), echoing the exact words used by Ibn Taymiyya in his Minhāj al-Sunna al-Nabawiyya (1986 ed. 2:441) and Majmūʿ al-Fatāwā (27:119).

⁸⁴ In his *Irwā' al-Ghalīl* (4:337-338) in which he imitated Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī's claims.

⁸⁵ In *Talkhīṣ Aḥkām al-Janā'iz* (p. 110) and elsewhere in his writings.

^{**} Al-Sakhāwī, al-Qawl al-Badī (p. 160). In al-Maqāṣid al-Ḥasana (p. 413) he adopts al-Dhahabī's opinion that "the chains of the hadīth of visitation are all 'soft' (layyina) but strengthen each other because none of them contains any liar."

There is no contest among the jurists of the Four Schools as to the probative force of the narration of Ibn 'Umar, as they adduce it time and again to illustrate the strong desirability of visiting the Prophet & in Madina. See, for example, among Hanbali sources alone, the textbooks already cited. See also the additional sound texts illustrating visits to the Prophet 3, among them that of the Companion Bilāl ibn Rabāḥ al-Ḥabashī 🐞 all the way from Damascus with the expressed intention of visiting the Prophet & to greet him and, upon arrival, his rubbing his face against the Prophetic grave in tears before proceeding to raise the adhan upon the request of the two grandsons of the Prophet 38,87 as well as the Companions' practice of seeking the Prophet & as an intermediary for their needs by visiting his grave, such as Bilāl ibn al-Ḥārith al-Muzanī, Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣāri, 'Ā'isha, and Fāṭima &, all as cited in the sections on Tawassul and Visitation in the Encyclopedia of Islamic Doctrine.

⁸⁷ Narrated by Ibn 'Asākir (7:137) with a good chain (*sanad jayyid*) as stated by al-Shawkānī in *Nayī al-Awṭār* (5:180), at the conclusion of *Kītāb al-Manāsik*.

His Last Days and Repentance from His Activities

In the final five months of his last two-year period in jail, Ibn Taymiyya was prevented from writing, at which time he turned to prayer and the intensive recitation of the Qur'an and repented from having spent time writing doctrinal refutations instead of focusing on the commentary of the Qur'an. He confided to his faithful student Ibn al-Qayyim: "My Paradise and my Garden are in my breast – meaning his faith and knowledge – and wherever I go they never depart from me. My prison is seclusion, my execution is martyrdom, and my exile is an excursion."

Al-Ṣafadī said: "He wasted his time refuting the Christians and the Rāfiḍa, or whoever objected to the Religion or contradicted it, but if he had devoted himself to explaining al-Bukhārī or the Noble Qur'ān, he would have placed the garland of his well-ordered speech on the necks of the people of knowledge." 90

Al-Nabhānī said: "He refuted the Christians, the Shī'īs, the logicians, then the Ash'arīs and *Ahl al-Sunna*, in short, sparing no one whether Muslim or non-Muslim, Sunni or otherwise." 91

Al-Dhahabī said: "Our Shaykh Ibn Taymiyya, in his last days, used to say, 'I do not declare anyone of the *Umma* a disbeliever

90 Al-Şafadī, al-Wāfī bil-Wafayāt (7:19-22).

⁸⁸ As related from al-Dhahabī by Ibn Rajab in *Dhayl Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila* (2:401-402).
⁸⁹ In Ibn al-Qayyim, *al-Wābil al-Sayyib min al-Kalim al-Tayyib* (p. 69).

⁹¹ Al-Nabhānī, Shawāhid al-Ḥaqq.

(kāfir),' and he said, 'The Prophet & said, "No one always keeps his ablution except a believer."92 Therefore, whoever regularly performs the prayers with ablution, he is a Muslim."93

> His Abandonment by His Former Admirers

His student al-Dhahabī praised him lavishly as "the brilliant Shaykh, Imām, erudite Scholar, censor, jurist, mujtahid, and commentator of the Qur'an," but acknowledged that Ibn Taymiyya's disparaging manners alienated even his admirers. For example, the grammarian Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī - whom al-Dhahabī considered the most knowledgeable Master of his time in the Arabic language94 - praised Ibn Taymiyya until he found out that the latter believed himself a greater expert in the Arabic language than Sībawayh, whereupon he retracted his previous praise and dissociated himself from him. In his Tafsīr he mentioned the anthropomorphist beliefs of Ibn Taymiyya. Hajji Khalīfa said: "Ibn Taymiyya authored a book entitled al-' Arsh in which he stated that Allah sits on the kursī and leaves some space vacant for the Prophet & to sit next to him. Abu Ḥayyān al-Andalusi mentioned it in [his Qur'anic commentary titled] al-Nahr and said he read it in Ibn Taymiyya's own handwriting."95 Shaykh al-Islām Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī at first reportedly

Narrated from Thawban by Ibn Majah, Ahmad, and al-Darimi.

In al-Dhahabī, Siyar (Risāla ed. 15:88 in the notice on Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʻarī).

⁹⁵ See below, note 200.

praised him in a letter to al-Dhahabī ⁹⁶ but later accused him of disbelief in the same manner as the ḥadīth Master al-'Alā'ī.

⁹⁶ Reproduced by Ibn Rajab in *Dhayl Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila* (2:392) and Ibn Ḥajar in *al-Durar al-Kāmina* (1:159) cf. Abū Ghudda, *al-ʿUlamāʾ al-ʿUzzāb* (p. 175). In light of al-Subkiʾs published positions on Ibn Taymiyya the authenticity of this letter is dubious.
⁹⁷ Bidāya (14:131-132), Durar (4:193), Tabaqāt al-Shāfiʾīyya al-Kubrā (9:191), Dhayl Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila (2:392-393).

His Revival of Ibn Ḥazm's Vicious Style

The Ulema saw the influence of Ibn Ḥazm in Ibn Taymiyya's poisoned quill. Al-Ṣafadī said: "He adorned himself with [Ibn Ḥazm's] *Muḥallā*, imitating whatever he wished from it – if he wished, he could cite it from memory – and adducing from it a number of attacks and disparagements." ⁹⁸

Al-Dhahabī said: "I do not consider him sinless, and I even disagree with him on a number of questions in both the foundations and the branches, for, despite his vast knowledge, great courage, abundant wit, and staunch defense of what Allāh had prohibited, he was nevertheless a human being among other human beings, hot-tempered in his manner of debate, given to anger and outbursts against his opponents. This would sow enmity toward him in people's hearts. If he had shown kindness towards his opponents he would have been the pivot of Consensus." 99

98 Al-Ṣafadī, al-Wāfī bil-Wafayāt (7:19-22).

⁹⁹ Al-Dhahabī as cited by Ibn Ḥajar in al-Durar al-Kāmina (1:176-178).

His Excessive Involvement in *Kalām* and Philosophy

Dr. Sa'īd al-Būṭī pointed out that although Ibn Taymiyya blamed al-Ghazzālī and other Ash'arī Scholars for involving themselves in philosophical or dialectical disputations, he himself went much further than most into kalām and philosophy. This is shown by Ibn Taymiyya's books in kalām and philosophy such as Muwāfaqāt al-Manqūl wal-Ma'qūl, al-Ta'sīs Radd al-Asās, and most notably by his positions in al-Radd 'alā al-Manṭiqiyyīn ("Against the Logicians") on the "generic beginninglessness" of created matters and Aristotelian causality (al-'illa al-arisṭiyya). 100

Al-Dhahabī alluded to this in his epistle to Ibn Taymiyya: "When will you stop investigating the poisoned minutiae of philosophical disbelief, so that we have to refute them with our minds? You have swallowed the poisons of the philosophers and their treatises, not once, but several times!" 101

¹⁰⁰ Cf. al-Būṭī, al-Salafiyya (p. 164-175) and al-Ikhmimi's (700-764) refutation of Ibn Taymiyya published as *Risāla fīl Radd 'alā Ibn Taymiyya* cf. below (p. 74-75, 103-104). See also our edition of Ibn Khafīf's 'Aqīda §41 ("Things do not act of their own nature...") and its note.

¹⁰¹ Al-Dhahabī, al-Naṣiha al-Dhahabiyya, in the margin of his Bayān Zaghl al-'Ilm wal-Talab, ed. al-Kawthari (Damascus: Qudsī, 1928-1929) and in Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymiyya: Sīratuhu wa-Akhbāruhu 'ind al-Mu'arrikhīn, ed. Şalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1976) p. 11-14.

Al-Dhahabī's Bayān Zaghl al-'Ilm and His Naṣīḥa to Ibn Taymiyya

Al-Dhahabī's Bayān Zaghl al-'Ilm wal-Ṭalab is a brief epistle in which he lists the different disciplines and sciences of Islām and then proceeds to describe them, as well as the Four Sunnī Schools. In his chapter on doctrine, he mentions his teacher: "Ibn Taymiyya was considered by his enemies to be a wicked Anti-Christ and disbeliever, while great numbers of the wise and the elite considered him an eminent, brilliant, and scholarly innovator (mubtadi' fāḍil muḥaqqiq bāri')." It recently received a meticulous edition at the hands of Muḥammad Nāṣir al-'Ajmī.

Al-Naṣīḥat al-Dhahabiyya li-Ibni Taymiyya is an epistle written when al-Dhahabi was around fifty-five years of age and addressed to Ibn Taymiyya near the end of his life. In this brief but scathing epistle, the author distances himself from his contemporary and admonishes him without naming him, calling him "an eloquent polemicist who neither rests nor sleeps." 103

The Naṣīḥa contains the following prediction of Taymiyya-followers in our time:

 $^{^{102}}$ Al-Dhahabī, Bayān Zaghl al-'llm (p. 23-24). Also cited in al-Sakhāwī's I'lān (p. 78). 103 See note 101.

Oh! The disappointment of him who follows you! For he is exposed to corruption in basic beliefs and to dissolution, particularly if he is short of learning and religion, a self-indulgent idler who does well for you by fighting on your behalf with his hand and tongue, while he is actually your enemy in his being and heart. What are your followers but dogmatic do-nothings of little intelligence, common liars with dull minds, silent outlanders strong in guile, or dryly righteous without understanding? If you do not believe it, just look at them and honestly assess them!¹⁰⁴

A "Salafī" apologist recently cast doubt on the authenticity of al-Dhahabī's authorship of this epistle, also claiming that, even if al-Dhahabī wrote it, then it is directed to someone other than Ibn Taymiyya! 105

However, al-Sakhāwī does not doubt the authenticity of its attribution to al-Dhahabī and calls it "a glorious statement of doctrine." ¹⁰⁶ And the two major experts on al-Dhahabī's works, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid and Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf, declared there was no doubt al-Dhahabī wrote it in his mature years and addressed it to Ibn Taymiyya. ¹⁰⁷ Among the proofs of its authenticity is that the ḥadīth Master Abū Sa'īd al-'Alā'ī said he copied it himself from al-Dhahabī's autograph manuscript.

¹⁰⁴ See www.masud.co.uk for a full translation of the Nasīha.

Muḥammad al-Shaybānī, al-Tawdīh al-Jalī fīl-Radd alā al-Naṣīḥat al-Dhahabiyya al-Manhūla alā al-Imām al-Dhahabī (Kuwait: Markaz al-Makhṭūṭāt wal-Turāth, 1993). This type of revisionist scholarship is reminiscent of the story-teller who was caught by Imām Aḥmad and Yaḥya ibn Ma'īn falsely claiming: "Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and Yaḥyā ibn Ma'īn narrated to us..." whereupon the unfazed fibber replied: "I meant another Aḥmad and another Yaḥyā, not you two!"

¹⁰⁶ Al-Sakhawi, al-1' lan wal-Tawbikh (p. 77=p. 136).

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf, *al-Dhahabī wa-Manhajuhu* (p. 146). Two extant manuscripts of the *Naṣīḥa* are kept, one in Cairo at the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya (\$B18823) copied by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba and one in Damascus at the Zāhiriyya library (\$1347).

The Mufassir Qāḍī Burhān al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿa, Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ibn Muḥammad al-Miṣrī thumma al-Maqdisī al-Dimashqī (725-790) then copied it himself from al-ʿAlāʾīʾs autograph manuscript, then Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba (d. 779) copied it himself from the autograph manuscript of Ibn Jamāʿa. Al-Kawtharī published its facsimile edition as written by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba.

Al-Subkī's Summary of Ibn Taymiyya's Deviations in Doctrine

Shaykh al-Islām Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 756) refuted him in his al-Durrat al-Muḍiyya, al-Sayf al-Ṣaqīl, and al-Rasā'il al-Subkiyya fīl-Radd 'alā Ibn Taymiyya. In the Durra and the introduction to the first epistle of the Rasā'il he wrote:

When Ibn Taymiyya innovated whatever he innovated in the principles of doctrines and destroyed the pillars and seams of the foundations of Islām after camouflaging himself with the pretense of following the Book and the Sunna, pretending to summon people to the truth and guide them to Paradise, he left conformity (ittibā') and entered novelty (ibtidā'), strayed (shadhdha) from the Congregation (jamā'a) of the Muslims by violating the Consensus (al-ijmā'), and attributed to the Transcendent Essence what presupposes corporeality and compound nature (mā yaqtaḍī al-jismiyya wal-tarkīb).

He claimed that dependency on composite parts is not an impossibility; that created entities (al-ḥawādith) subsist in the Essence of Allāh &; that the Qur'ān is originated, Allāh speaking it after its nonexistence; that He speaks, falls silent, and originates in His Essence the volitions (al-irādāt) according to created things, in the process arriving at the necessary pre-eternity of the world (istilzām qidam al-'ālam) by stating

that there is no beginning for created entities. So he claimed the existence of "originated entities without beginning" (hawādith lā awwala lahā), 108 and that the attribute of preeternity was created, and that the created was without beginning. None ever held these two doctrines at one and the same time in any society nor in any religious community, so he is not part of any of the seventy-three sects 109 into which the *Umma* split, nor can there be any ground for him to stand with any particular *umma*. And even if all this constitutes the foulest disbelief (*kufran shanī an*), yet it is little compared to what he innovated in the branches! 110

Al-Haytamī's Summary of Ibn Taymiyya's Deviations

Another Shāfi'ī jurist, al-Haytamī, wrote:

Ibn Taymiyya is a servant whom Allāh forsook, misguided, blinded, deafened, and debased. That is the declaration of the Imāms who have exposed the corruption of his positions and the mendacity of his sayings. Whoever wishes to pursue this must read the words of the *mujtahid* Imām Abū al-Ḥasan al-

¹⁰⁸ Cf. below (n. 112).

¹⁰⁹ Ḥadīth of the Prophet ⊕: "My Community shall divide into seventy-three sects, all of them in the Fire except one: the Congregation." Narrated from Abū Hurayra by Ibn Mājah and, as part of a longer ḥadīth, from Muʿāwiya by Abū Dāwūd and Aḥmad, all with good chains as stated by al-ʿIrāqī in al-Mughnī while al-Ḥākim (1:128=1990 ed. 1:218) said "a sound chain," and in part from Anas by Abū Yaʿlā in his Musnad (7:32-36 §3938 and §3944 isnād daʿīf).

¹¹⁰ Al-Subkī, al-Durrat al-Mudiyya fil-Radd 'alā Ibn Taymiyya (1ª epistle, Naqd al-Ijtimā' p. 6-7).

Subkī, of his son Tāj al-Dīn Ibn al-Subkī, of the Imām al-'Izz ibn Jamā'a and others of the Shāfi'ī, Mālikī, and Ḥanafī shaykhs [...] He must be exposed as a misguided and misguiding innovator (mubtadi' dāll muḍill) and a fanatically ignorant person (jāhilun ghālin) whom Allāh treated with His justice. May He protect us from the likes of his path, doctrine, and actions! [...] Know that he has differed from people on questions about which Tāj al-Dīn Ibn al-Subkī and others warned us. Among the things Ibn Taymiyya said which violate the scholarly Consensus are:

- that whosoever violates the Consensus commits neither disbelief (kufr) nor grave transgression (fisq);¹¹¹
- that our Lord is subject to created events (maḥallun līlḥawādith) – glorified, exalted, and sanctified is He far beyond what the depraved ascribe to Him!
- that He is compound or made of parts (murakkab), His Essence standing in need of something as the whole stands in need of its parts, elevated is He and sanctified beyond that!
- that the Qur'ān is created in the Essence of Allāh (*muḥdath fī dhātillāh*), elevated is He beyond that!
- that the world is of a pre-eternal nature and exists with Allāh since pre-eternity as an "ever-abiding created object" (*makhlūqan dā'iman*), thus making it necessarily existent in His Essence (*mūjaban bil-dhāt*) and [representing Him as] not acting deliberately (*la fā'ilan bil-ikhtyār*), elevated is He beyond that!¹¹² [Ibn Taymiyya was refuted by his contemporary

¹¹¹ A necessary corollary of Ibn Taymiyya's claim that the triple formulation of divorce counts as one in unambiguous violation of the Consensus on the matter.
¹¹² Fath al-Bārī (1959 ed. 13:411). Whoever holds this doctrine is considered a kāfir by

Imām al-Ikhmīmī al-Miṣrī (700-764) in his Risāla fīl-Radd 'alā Ibn Taymiyya fī Mas'alati Ḥawādith lā Awwala Lahā ("Treatise in Refutation of Ibn Taymiyya on the Question of Created Matters that Have No Beginning"), by al-Ṣan'ānī in his Risāla Sharīfa fī-Mā Yata' allaqu bi-kam al-Bāqī min' Umr al-Dunyā? ("A Precious Treatise Concerning the Remaining Age of the World"), ¹¹³ and by Ibn Ḥajar in one line in Fatḥ al-Bārī. ¹¹⁴]

- suggestions of the corporeality, direction, and displacement [of Allāh [66]] (al-jismiyya wal-jiha wal-intiqāl), 115 and that He fits the size of the Throne, being neither bigger nor smaller, exalted is He from such a hideous invention and wide-open disbelief, and may He forsake all his followers, and may all his beliefs be scattered and lost!
- that the Fire shall go out (al-nār tafnī);116
- that Prophets are not sinless (al-anbiyā' ghayr ma' ṣūmīn);
- that the Prophet has no special status before Allāh (lā jāha lahu) and must not be used as an intermediary (lā yutawassalu bihi);
- that the undertaking of travel (al-safar) to the Prophet & in order to visit him is a sin, for which it is unlawful to shorten

Imām Abū Isḥāq al-Isfarāyīnī who said: "If, together with belief, one holds a view such as that the world is without beginning, or other such position which contradicts belief, then belief is altogether annulled in that person." In Ibn al-Subkī, *Tabaqāt al-Shāfi* 'iyya al-Kubrā (4:256-262 §358).

¹¹³ Ed. al-Waṣabī al-Mathānī. (Ṣan'ā': Maktabat Dār al-Quds, 1992).

¹¹⁴ Ibn Ḥajar, Fath (17:81).

¹¹⁵ This doctrine was refuted by Ibn Jahbal al-Kilābī and Qādī Yūsuf al-Nabhānī among many others as already discussed.

¹¹⁶ As reported from him by Ibn al-Qayyim – who tends to agree with him – in his *Hādī al-Arwāh* (p. 252-258 and following).

the prayers, and that it is forbidden to ask for his intercession in view of the Day of Need;¹¹⁷

 and that the words (alfāz) of the Torah and the Gospel were not substituted, but only their meanings (maʿānī) were.

Some said: "Whoever looks at his books does not attribute to him most of these positions, except his view that Allāh has a direction, and that he authored a book to establish this, which, by extension, proves that the people who follow this school of thought are believers in Divine corporeality (jismiyya), dimensionality (muḥādhāt), and settledness (istiqrār)." That is, it may be that, at times, he used to assert these proofs and they were consequently attributed to him in particular. But whoever attributed this to him from among the Imāms of Islām on whose greatness, leadership, religion, trustworthiness, fairness, acceptance, insight, and meticulousness there is agreement – then they do not say anything except what has been duly established with added precautions and repeated inquiry. This is especially true when a view is attributed to a Muslim which necessitates his disbe-

¹¹⁸ See the discussion of the narration "Whoever visits my grave" (p. 59-63) previously.

118 As for the claim that the same view was reported from Ibn 'Abbās by al-Bukhārī in his Ṣaḥ̄ḥ (in the fourth to last chapter-title of Kitāb al-Tawhīd): this is inauthentic from Ibn 'Abbās as indicated by Ibn Ḥajar – in Taghlīq al-Ta'līq – who attributes it to Wahb ibn Munabbih, a frequent narrator of Israelite reports, as does Ibn Kathīr in his Tafsīr in commentary of the verse {of such as say with their mouths: "We believe," but their hearts believe not, and of the Jews: listeners for the sake of falsehood, listeners on behalf of other folk who come not unto you, changing words from their context and saying: If this be given unto you, receive it but if this be not given unto you, then beware!} (5:41). Ibn Kathīr goes on to say: "If Wahb meant the books that are in their hands, then there is no doubt at all that substitution (tabdīl), tampering (taḥrīf), addition (ziyāda), and omission (naqs) have entered into them." And how could it possibly be authentic when Allāh se mentioned the name of the Prophet in the Scriptures of Ahl al-Kitāb as "Aḥmad" but such a name is not found in them now? In Fath al-Bārī. Ibn Ḥajar goes on to say he found the reasoning of Ibn Taymiyya on this issue "astounding" ('ajīb).

lief, apostasy, misguidance, and execution. Therefore, if it is true of him that he is a disbeliever and an innovator, then Allāh will deal with him with His justice, and other than that, He will forgive us and him.¹¹⁹

The "Salafi" Nu mān al-Alūsī responded to the above condemnations and took the side of Ibn Taymiyya in his *Jalā' al-'Aynayn bi-Muḥākamat al-Aḥmadayn* ("The Arbitration Between the Two Aḥmads"), which Shaykh Yūsuf al-Nabhānī refuted in turn in his *Shawāhid al-Ḥaqq fil-Istighātha bi Sayyid al-Khalq* ("The Witnesses to Truth Concerning the Obtainment of Aid through the Master of Creatures").

Ibn Taymiyya's Incredulity of Imām Aḥmad's Fatwā on Tabarruk with the Prophetic Grave

Imām Badr al-Dīn al-'Aynī said in his monumental commentary on Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī: "Our Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn said the ḥadīth master Abū Sa'īd ibn al-'Alā'ī said, 'I saw in an old volume on the sayings of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal countersigned by Ibn Nāṣīr [al-Dīn] and other ḥadīth masters that Imām Aḥmad was asked about the kissing of the grave of the Prophet and his pulpit, and he replied, "There is nothing wrong with that." We showed it to Shaykh Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Taymiyya. He was astonished at this and began saying, "I wonder! I consider Aḥmad too great! He said this? These are his words??" or something to that effect:" 120

¹¹⁹ Al-Haytamī, Fatāwā Ḥadīthiyya (p. 114-117).

¹²⁰ Al-' Aynī, 'Umdat al-Qārī (9:241). This fatwā of Imām Aḥmad is firmly established as documented in our Four Imāms and Their Schools and Albānī and His Friends.

His Denial of Tawassul and His Denial of Such Denial

Among the grave charges brought against Ibn Taymiyya was his denial of the lawfulness and validity of *tawassul* or seeking an intermediary through the Prophet after his lifetime as he forwarded in *al-Tawassul wal-Wasīla* and his *Fatāwā*, and as quoted above from Ibn Ṭūlūn citing al-ʿAlāʾī and Ibn Ḥajar citing al-Ṭūfī, among others. This unprecedented denial is explicitly contradicted by the Scholars before and after him, beginning with Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal¹²¹ and including Ibn Taymiyya's own defenders, Ibn al-Qayyim (cf. *Nūniyya*, section on *tawassul*) and al-Dhahabī as well as al-Shawkānī and countless others. Yet Ibn Rajab relates a contradictory position of Ibn Taymiyya in which all he denied was "asking help (*istighātha*) in the sense of worship (*bi-maʿnā al-ʾibāda*), however, one may make *tawassul* through him"!¹²³

121 See his chapter in our Four Imams and Their Schools.

123 Ibn Rajab, Dhayl Tabaqāt al-Hanābila (2:398).

¹²² Cf. the comprehensive volume on tawassul in the Encyclopedia of Islamic Doctrine, Shaykh Ḥasan Qarībullāh's monograph al-Tawassul, Muḥammad ʿĀbid al-Sindī's treatise on tawassul, and the summation by our teacher Dr. Sāmir al-Naṣṣ, al-Wasīla ilā Fahmi Ḥaqīqat al-Tawassul.

His Invention of a Post-Conversion Reconversion of al-Ash arī

It is mass-transmitted that Imām Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī converted from Muʿtazilism at age forty and spent the following quarter century refuting non-Sunni sects, including the freethinkers, the Muʿtazila, the anthropomorphists, the Rāfiḍīs, and others. La Under Ibn Taymiyya's pen, however, this conversion subdivides into two doctrinal phases, the first only a semi-Sunni phase under Ibn Kullāb's influence, and the latter a full-fledged Sunni phase in which he was supposedly taught by the Ḥanbalīs of Baghdād. No one preceded him in such a claim and he gave no proof of it other than his own words. (Furthermore, according to Ibn Ḥajar, al-Bukhārī and Muslim followed Ibn Kullāb in doctrine. Certain Ḥanbalīs questioned *their* Sunnism as well.)

124 See note 430 below.

126 Ibn Hajar, Fath al-Bari (1:243)

¹²⁵ Ibn Taymiyya, *Majmūʻ al-Fatāwā* (3:228). Subsequent Ḥanbalīs imitated him in this such as Ibn ʻImād in *Shadharāt al-Dhahab* and al-Muʻallimī in *al-Tankīl*.

Al-Kawtharī's Scathing Exposure of His Anthropomorphism

The Renewer of Islām in the previous century, Imām Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī, stated in strong terms that Ibn Taymiyya's position on the Divine Attributes is tantamount to disbelief and apostasy because it reduces Allāh to a corporeal body. He states in his *Maqālāt*:

In al-Ta'sīs fī Radd Asās al-Taqdīs ("The Laying of the Foundation: A Refutation of al-Rāzī's "The Foundation of Divine Sanctification"), Ibn Taymiyya says: "Al-'arsh (the Throne) lexically means al-sarīr (elevated seat or couch), so named with respect to what is on top of it, just as the roof is so named with respect to what is under it. Therefore, if the Qur'ān attributes a throne to Allāh, it is known that this throne is, with respect to Allāh, like the elevated seat is with respect to other than Allāh. This makes it necessarily true that He is on top of the Throne." So then the Throne is, for Ibn Taymiyya, the seat (maq'ad) of Allāh — Exalted is He far beyond such a notion!

He also says: "It is well-known that the Book, the Sunna, and the Consensus nowhere say that all bodies (ajsām) are created, and nowhere say that Allāh Himself is not a body. Nor did any of the Imāms of the Muslims ever say such a

thing. 127 Therefore if I also choose not to say it, it does not expel me from fitra nor from Sharī a."128 These words are complete impudence. What did he do with all the verses declaring Allāh to be far removed from anything like unto Him? Does he expect that the idiocy that every single idiot can come up with be addressed with a specific text? Is it not enough that Allāh said: {There is nothing whatsoever like Him}(42:11)? Or does he consider it permissible for someone to say: Allāh seats this, chews that, and tastes this, just because no text mentions the opposite? This is disbelief laid bare and pure anthropomorphism.

In another passage of the same book he says: "You [Ash 'arīs] say He is neither a body nor an atom (jawhar) nor spatially bounded (mutaḥayyiz), and that He has no direction, and that He cannot be pointed to as an object of sensory perception, and that nothing of Him can be considered distinct from Him. You have asserted this on the grounds that Allāh is neither divisible nor made of parts, and that He has neither limit (ḥadd) nor end (ghāya), with your view thereby to forbid one to say that He has any limit or measure (qadr), or even that He has a dimension that is unlimited. But how do you allow yourselves to do this without evidence from the Book and the Sunna?" The reader's intelligence suffices to

¹²⁷ Al-Ash'ari in *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* (p. 211) says precisely the contrary: "Ahl al-Sunna and the people of hadīth said that Allāh is is not a body." Similarly al-Kalābādhī in al-Ta'arruf (p. 34-35). Ibn Taymiyya knows this cf. his *Minhāj* (2:326): "Al-Ash'arī and his early disciples said [....] He is not a body."

¹²⁸ Ibn Taymiyya, al-Ta'sīs Radd Asās al-Taqdīs = Bayān Talbīs al-Jahmiyya (1:118) cf. Minhāj (2:205). He also claims in the latter (2:220) that the first to say that Allāh ૠ is not a body were the Jahmiyya and Muʿtazila.

¹²⁹ Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Ta'sīs* (1:101) = *Bayān Talbīs al-Jahmiyya* (1:444). It is amusing that the defenders of Ibn Taymiyya indirectly acknowledge the heresy of this position by protesting that "he was merely paraphrasing the position of those who affirm the

comment on these heretical statements. Can you imagine for an apostate to be more brazen than this, right in the midst of Muslim society?

In another place in the same book he says: "It is obligatorily known that Allāh did not mean by the name of "the One" (al-Wāḥid) the negation of the Attributes." He is here alluding to all that entails His "coming" to a place and the like. He continues: "Nor did He mean by it the negation that He can be perceived with the senses, nor the denial of limit and dimension and all such interpretations which were innovated by the Jahmiyya and their followers. Negation or denial of the above is not found in the Book nor the Sunna." And this is on an equal footing with what came before with regard to pure anthropomorphism and plain apostasy.

In another book of his, Muwāfaqat al-Ma'qūl, which is in the margin of his Minhāj, Ibn Taymiyya asserts that things occur newly in relation to Allāh and that He has a direction according to two kinds of conjecture. And you know, reader, what the Imāms say concerning him who deliberately and intently establishes that Allāh has a direction, unless his saying such a thing is a slip of the tongue or a slip of the pen. Then there is his establishing that the concept of movement

Attributes among the *mutakallimīn*"! Mashhūr Ḥasan Salmān, *al-Rudūd wal-Taʻ aqqubāt ʻalā al-Imām al-Nawawī* (p. 21-22). As this Salmān undoubtedly knows, the truth is that this particular argument of Ibn Taymiyya comes up frequently and favorably enough under his pen [cf. *Bayān Talbīs* (1:548, 1:600, 2:169); *Sharḥ Ḥadīth al-Nuzūl* (69-76); *Majmūʻ al-Fatāwā* (3:306-310, 13:304-305); *Minhāj* (2:134-135, 192,198-200, 527)] to be safely attributed to him. Compare to Imām Mālik's statement: "He is neither ascribed a limit nor likened with anything" (lā yuḥaddad wa-lā yushabbah). Ibn al-'Arabī said after citing it in Aḥkām al-Qurān (4:1740): "This [statement] is a pinnacle of *tawḥīd* to which no Muslim preceded Mālik."

130 Ibn Taymiyya, Muwafaqat al-Ma'qul on the margins of Minhāj al-Sunna (2:75, 1:264, 2:13, 2:26). The Muwafaqa was republished under the title Dar' Ta'arud al-'Aqli wal-Naql.

applies to Allāh, along with all the others who establish such a thing. His denial that there is an eternal sojourn in hellfire has filled creation; so has his doctrine of the "generic pre-existence" of the world (al-qidam al-naw'ī). 131

In his article Tahdhīr al-Umma min Du'āt al-Wathaniyya ("Warning the Community about Those Who Call to Idol-Worship"), written in 1942 and reprinted in his Magālāt, al-Kawtharī berates al-Azhar for allowing the publication of 'Uthman ibn Sa'īd al-Dārimī's al-Radd 'alā al-Jahmiyya which contains phrases like "[Allah &] moves if He wishes, descends and ascends if He wishes [...] stands and sits if He wishes;" "Allah 🕊 has a limit [...] and His place also has a limit, as He is on His Throne above His heavens, and these are two limits;" "if He wished, He would have settled on the back of a gnat" and other enormities. 132 This is identical to Ibn Karrām's doctrine that "Allāh has a body unlike bodies, and a limit." ¹³³ Yet Ibn Taymiyya ardently defends al-Dārimī's views, 134 citing them time and again in al-Ta'sīs Radd Asās al-Taqdīs135 - an all-out attack on Fakhr al-Din al-Rāzī's refutation of anthropomorphism titled Asās al-Tagdīs - including the gnat remark. 136

¹³¹ Al-Kawthari, Magālāt (p. 350-353).

¹³² Al-Kawthari, Maqālāt (p. 378-383, cf. 361-367, 391-406, 420).

¹³³ See 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī, al-Farq Bayn al-Firaq (p. 203, 217).

¹³⁴ Ibn al-Qayyim in *Ijtimāʿ al-Juyūsh* (p. 88=p. 143) revealed that Ibn Taymiyya "praised and recommended al-Dārimī's two books [*Naqd al-Jahmiyya* and *al-Radd 'alā Bishr al-Marrisī*] most strenuously"!

¹³⁵ This work was newly printed under the made-up title *Bayān Talbīs al-Jahmiyya fī Ta'sīs Bida' ihim al-Kalamiyya*, 2 vols., ed. Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Qāsim (Makka: Maṭba'at al-Ḥukūma, 1972). Cf. *Bayān Talbīs al-Jahmiyya* (1:426-427, 1:433, 1:443-444, 2:111, 2:157-160, 2:494-495).

¹³⁶ Bayan Talbīs (1:568, 2:160).

Ibn Taymiyya's Denial of the Eternity of Hellfire

Ibn Taymiyya affirmed and denied the eternity of hellfire intermittently in the same way he intermittently affirmed and denied the corporeality of the Deity and the beginninglessness of the world. His denial of the eternity of hellfire and his suggestion of its eventual extinction was refuted, among others, by the Commander of the Believers in Hadīth Muhammad ibn Ismā'īl al-San'ānī in his Raf' al-Astār li-Ibţāl Adillat al-Qā'ilīn bi-Fanā' al-Nār ("Exposing the Nullity of the Proofs of Those that Claim that Hellfire Shall Pass Away"), by the great Egyptian Hanbalī Jurist Mar'i ibn Yūsuf al-Karmī al-Maqdisī (d. 1033), author of countless valuable works still extant, in his Tawqīf al-Farīqayn 'alā Khulūd Ahl al-Dārayn, and by Shaykh al-Islām Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī in his treatise al-I'tibār bi-Bagā' al-Jannati wal-Nār, published as part of his book al-Durrat al-Mudiyya fīl-Radd 'alā Ibn Taymiyya, which also contains two epistles refuting the latter's positions on divorce. In al-I'tibar, al-Subkī states:

The doctrine of the Muslims is that Paradise and Hellfire do not pass away. Abū Muhammad Ibn Ḥazm reported Consensus over the matter¹³⁷ and the fact that whoever violates such Consensus is a disbeliever ($k\bar{a}fir$) by Consensus. There is no

¹³⁷ Ibn Ḥazm, Marātib al-Ijmā' (p. 193-194).

doubt over this, for it is obligatorily known in the Religion and the evidence to that effect is abundant. 138

This heretical doctrine was endorsed by Ibn Taymiyya's admirer Ibn Abī al-'Izz in his commentary on al-Ṭaḥāwī, in flat contradiction of the latter's statement: "The Garden and the Fire are created and shall never be extinguished nor come to an end." ¹³⁹

The sound position and the belief of Ahl al-Sunna is that the disobedient Muslims who are in the Fire temporarily are not on a par with the disbelievers who are in the Fire forever. The Muslims who remain in the Fire until they are taken out and enter Paradise no longer feel the Fire past the point of burning to the bone, without their skins being renewed, since the Prophet said of them: "After being burnt to the bone (umtuḥishū) they will be taken out and the water of life will be poured upon them." Allāh said: {Shall we treat the Muslims like the criminals?} (68:35) and {It may be that those who disbelieved wish ardently that they were Muslims} (15:2) i.e. when they find themselves in the Fire, in comparison to the Muslims.

¹³⁸ Al-Subkī, al-Durrat al-Muḍiyya fīl-Radd ʿalā Ibn Taymiyya (3rd epistle, al-Iʿtibār bi-Baqāʾal-Jannati wal-Nār p. 60).

¹³⁹ Cf. Ibn Abī al- Izz, Sharh al-Taḥāwiyya (p. 427-430).

Narrated from Abū Hurayra and Abū Saʻīd al-Khudrī by al-Bukhārī and Muslim.

His Invention of a Double or Triple *Tawhīd*

Also among Ibn Taymiyya's kalām innovations was his division of tawhid into two types: tawhid al-rububiyya and tawhid alulūhiyya, respectively, Oneness of Lordship and Oneness of Godhead.¹⁴¹ The first, he said, consisted in the acknowledgment of Allah as the Creator of all, a belief shared by believers and non-believers alike. The second, he said, was the affirmation of Allah as the one true deity and only object of worship, a belief exclusive to believers. His natural conclusion was that "whoever does not know tawhīd al-ulūhiyya, his knowledge of tawhīd alrubūbiyya is not taken into account because the idolaters also had such knowledge." He then compared the scholars of kalām to the Arab idol-worshippers who accepted tawhīd al-rubūbiyya but ignored tawhīd al-ulūhiyya! This dialectic was imitated by Ibn Abī al-'Izz in his commentary on al-Ţahāwī's 'Agīda. 142 Ibn Taymiyya's followers also credit him with a third tawhīd, tawhīd al-asmā' wal-sifāt. The Algerian Shaykh al-'Arabī ibn al-Tubbānī refuted this innovation in his Bara'at al-Ash' ariyyin, among others.

¹⁴¹ In his Fatāwā (1:219, 2:275); Minhāj al-Sunna (2:62); Risālat Ahl al-Şuffa (p. 34).

¹⁴² But in no other commentary of the same text, not even the "Salafi" commentary on the *Taḥāwiyya* by Ḥasan al-Busnawī, although the latter does follow Ibn Abī al-'Izz in other matters.

Al-Tubbānī's Refutation of His Multiple *Tawḥīds*

Abū Ḥāmid Ibn Marzūq [Imām al-ʿArabī ibn al-Tubbānī] wrote:

Tawhīd al-rubūbiyya and tawhīd al-ulūhiyya were invented by Ibn Taymiyya who claimed that all Muslims among the mutakallimun worshipped other than Allah due to their ignorance of tawhid al-uluhiyya; he claimed that the only tawhid they knew was tawhīd al-rubūbiyya. The latter consists in affirming that Allah is the Creator of all things, as, he says, the polytheists conceded. He then declared all Muslims to be unbelievers. Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb imitated him in this, and others imitated Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab. The late erudite scholar al-Sayyid Ahmad ibn Zaynī Dahlān (d. 1304) looked into this matter in a small section of his treatise al-Durar al-Saniyya fīl-Radd 'alā al-Wahhābiyya ("The Resplendent Pearls in Refuting the Wahhābīs"). So did the savant al-Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Samannūdī al-Manṣūrī (d. 1314) who spoke excellently in his book Sa'ādat al-Dārayn fīl-Radd ʻalāl-Firgatayn al-Wahhābiyya wal-Zāhiriyya ("The Bliss of the Two Abodes in the Refutation of the Two Sects: Wahhābīs and Zāhirīs").143 The late erudite scholar al-Shaykh Salāmat al-'Azzāmī (d. 1376) also wrote valuable words about it in his book al-Barāhin al-Sāti'a fī Radd Ba'd al-Bida' al-Shā'i'a

Both recently republished in Damascus (2001) and Cairo (2005) respectively.

("The Radiant Proofs in Refuting Certain Widespread Innovations"). [...]

Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal [...] never said that tawḥīd consisted in two parts, one being tawhīd al-rubūbiyya and the other tawhīd al-ulūhiyya. Nor did he ever say that "whoever does not know tawhīd al-ulūhiyya, his knowledge of tawhīd al-rubūbiyya is not taken into account because the idolaters also had such knowledge." [...] None of the followers of the Followers [...] none of the Successors [...] none of the Companions of the Prophet sever said that tawhid consisted in two parts, one being tawhīd al-rubūbiyya and the other tawhīd al-ulūhiyya, nor did any of them ever say that "whoever does not know tawhīd al-ulūhiyya, his knowledge of tawhīd alrubūbiyya is not taken into account because the idolaters also had such knowledge." [...] Nowhere in all the Sunna of the Prophet & [...] is it related that the Prophet & ever said or ever taught his Companions that tawhīd consists in two parts, one being tawhīd al-rubūbiyya and the other tawhīd alulūhiyya, nor that "whoever does not know tawhīd alulūhiyya, his knowledge of tawhīd al-rubūbiyya is not taken into account because the idolaters also had such knowledge." If mankind and jinn joined together to establish that the Prophet seever said such a thing, even with an inauthentic chain of transmission, they would not succeed.

The books of the Sunna of the Prophet overflow with the fact that the call of the Prophet to the people to Allāh was in order that they witness that there is no God except Allāh alone and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allāh, and in order that they repudiate idol-worship. One of the most famous illustrations of this is the narration of Muʿādh

ibn Jabal when the Prophet sent him to Yemen and said to him: "Invite them to the testimony that there is no God but Allāh and Muḥammad is the Messenger [...]." And it is narrated in five of the six books of authentic traditions – and Ibn Hibbān declared it sound – that a Bedouin Arab reported the sighting of the new moon to the Prophet and the latter ordered the people to fast without asking this man other than to confirm his testimony of faith. According to that drivel of Ibn Taymiyya, it would have been necessary for the Prophet to call all people to the tawhīd al-ulūhiyya of which they were ignorant – since tawhīd al-ulūhiyya they knew already – and he should have said to Muʿādh: "Invite them to tawhīd al-ulūhiyya;" and he should have asked the Bedouin who had sighted the new moon of Ramadan: "Do you know tawhīd al-ulūhiyya?"

Finally, in His precious Book which falsehood cannot approach whether from the front or from behind, Allāh never decreed belief in *tawḥīd al-ulūhiyya* to His servants, nor did He ever say that "whoever does not know this *tawḥīd*, his knowledge of *tawḥīd al-rubūbiyya* is not taken into account."

Ibn Marzūq is the pseudonym of Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Alawī's Shaykh, Muḥammad al-'Arabī ibn al-Tubbānī al-Jazā'irī al-Mālikī al-Makkī (d. 1390) who authored, among other books, *Taḥdhīr al-'Abqarī* and *al-Ta'aqqub al-Mufīd 'alā Hadī al-Zura'ī al-Shadīd* in refutation of Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn al-Qayyim, and the Wahhābiyya's insinuations against the Ash'arīs. ¹⁴⁵

145 Cf. Mamduḥ, Tashnif al-Asmā' bi-Shuyūkh al-Ijāzati wal-Samā' (1984 ed. p. 375).

¹⁴⁴ Ibn Marzūq, Barā'at al-Ash' ariyyīn Min 'Aqā'id al-Mu' tazilati wal-Mukhālifin (1:89, 1:94 f.) Chapter reprinted in Ibn Marzūq, al-Tawassul bil-Nabī

wal-Ṣaliḥīn (Istanbul: Hakikat Kitābevi, 1993) p. 25-101.

Ibn Taymiyya's Verbose Methodology in Disputation

Ibn Taymiyya's method in debate was to provide a barrage of quotes and citations in support of his positions. In the process, he often mentioned reports or stated positions which, upon closer examination, are dubious either from the viewpoint of transmission or that of content. For example:

- His report of Ibn Baṭṭa's narration whereby Ḥammād ibn Zayd was asked by a man: "Our Lord descends to the heaven of the earth does that mean that he removes Himself from one place to another place?" (yataḥawwalu min makān ilā makān?) Ḥammād replied: "He Himself is in His place, and He comes near His creation in the way that He likes (huwa fī makānihi yaqrabu min khalqihi kayfa shā')." Aside from the questionable status of Ibn Baṭṭa, the doctrine of attributing place to Allāh is unheard of among the Salaf.
- His report that Isḥāq ibn Rāhūyah said to 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir: "He is able to descend without the Throne being vacant of Him" (yaqdiru an yanzila min ghayri an yakhlua al-'arshu minh). ¹⁴⁷ Such a statement leaves nothing of the characteristics

¹⁴⁶ Ibn Taymiyya, *Majmū*° *al-Fatāwā* (5:376). Narrated with its chain by al-Dhahabī in the *Siyar* (8:213, chapter of Bishr ibn al-Sarī).

¹⁴⁷ Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū al-Fatāwā (5:376-377). Also narrated by al-Dhahabī with a sound chain according to al-Albānī in Mukhtaṣar al- Uluw (p. 192 §235).

of creatures except it attributed them to the Creator: body, place, surface, and displacement.

- Al-Bayhaqī in al-Asmā' wal-Ṣifāt narrates the reports of Isḥāq's encounter with the Emir 'Abd Allah ibn Tahir with five chains - three of them sound - none of which mention the words "without the Throne being vacant of Him." 148 This apparent interpolation is nevertheless the foundation of Ibn Taymiyya's position in Sharh Ḥadīth al-Nuzūl that Allāh Most High descends "in person" yet remains above the Throne "in person."149 The phrase was characterized by Muḥammad Abū Zahra (see below) as a dual assertion of the aboveness and belowness of Allāh Most High on the part of Ibn Taymiyya, although strenuously denied by Ibn Taymiyya himself in Minhāj al-Sunna and by al-Albānī who defends the latter against Abū Zahra's conclusion in his introduction to Mukhtasar al- 'Uluw. 150
- His report from Abū 'Umar al-Ţalamankī's book al-Wuṣūl ilā Ma'rifat al-Uṣūl: "Ahl al-Sunna wal-Jamā'a are in agreement (muttafiqun) that Allah established Himself in person (bidhātihi) on the Throne."151 Al-Dhahabī quotes from the same book the following passage: "The Muslims of Ahl al-Sunna wal-Jamā'a have reached Consensus (ajma'[ū]) that Allāh is above the heavens in person (bi-dhātihi) and is established over His Throne in the mode that He pleases (kayfa shā')."152 Of course, both assertions are false since no such Consensus

149 Sharh Hadith al-Nuzül (p. 42-59).

Ibn Taymiyya, Majmūʻ al-Fatāwā (5:189).

¹⁴⁸ Al-Asmā' wal-Ṣifāt (Kawtharī ed. p. 451-452; Ḥāshidī ed. 2:375-377 §950-953).

¹⁵⁰ Minhāj al-Sunna (2:248), Mukhtaşar al-'Uluw (p. 40-41, 192-193).

¹⁵² Al-Dhahabī, Mukhtaşar al-ʿUluw (p. 264 §321). Al-Dhahabī criticizes these assertions: see article "Allah is Now as He Ever Was" in our Sunna Notes.

- exists; and the position of Ahl al-Sunna is that whoever attributes place to Allāh commits apostasy.
- His statement: "The scholars approved by Allāh and His accepted Friends have narrated that Muḥammad the Messenger of Allāh will be seated by His Lord on the Throne next to Him." 153 By "the scholars approved by Allāh and His accepted Friends" he means a minority of Ḥanbalī scholars with anthropomorphist leanings.
- His claim regarding the narration of 'Abd Allāh ibn Khalīfa from 'Umar whereby "the Prophet

 glorified Allāh and said: 'Verily, His Seat of Authority (kursī) encompasses the heavens and the earth, and verily He sits on it (innahu yajlisu 'alayh) and there does not remain of it [but] a space of four fingers, and verily it groans like the sound of the new saddle when one mounts it, due to His weight pressing down on it" that "most of Ahl al-Sunna accept [this narration]" when their near totality − including his own students al-Dhahabī and Ibn Kathīr − grade it "denounced" (munkar), and he himself acknowledges Abū Bakr al-Ismā'īlī's rejection of it among others.

 155
- His statement that "I do not know any of the Salaf of the Community nor any of the Imāms, neither Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal nor other than him, that considered these [verses on the Divine Names and Attributes] as part of the mutashābih" when everyone has heard the statement of Imām Mālik on istiwā whereby "its modality is inconceivable" (al-kayfu ghayr ma'qūl).

¹⁵³ Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū¹ al-Fatāwā (Mufaṣṣal al-I¹ tiqād ["Specifics of Belief"] 4:374).
See our article, "The Prophet's

Seating on the Throne" in our Sunna Notes series.

Narrated by al-Ṭabarī in his *Tafsīr* (3:10-11). Cf. our article on "The Prophet's Seating on the Throne," section titled "The Groaning of the Throne."

¹⁵⁵ In his commentary on Sūrat al-'Alaq in Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū' at Rasā'il (16:435).

¹⁵⁶ Ibn Taymiyya, Majmūʻat Rasā'il (13:294).

Al-Baghdādī in *Uṣūl al-Dīn* cites Mālik ibn Anas, the seven jurists of Madīna, and al-Aṣmaʿī among those who consider the verse of *istiwā*' one of the *mutashābihāt*. Imām al-Ghazzālī also counted the verses and narrations on the Divine Attributes among the *mutashābihāt* in *al-Mustaṣfā* and Imām al-Nawawī concurred with him.¹⁵⁷

- His statements: "The elevation of Allāh over the Throne is literal, and the elevation of the creature over the ship is literal" (lil-Lāhi taʿāla istiwāʾun ʿalā ʿarshihi ḥaqīqatan wa-lil-ʿabdi istiwāʾun ʿalā al-fulki ḥaqīqatan). "Allāh is with us literally and He is above His Throne literally (Allāhu maʿanā ḥaqīqatan wa-huwa fawqa al-ʿarshi ḥaqīqatan). [...] Allāh is with His creation literally and He is above His Throne literally (Allāhu maʿa khalqihi ḥaqīqatan wa-huwa fawqa al-ʿarshi ḥaqīqatan)." Abū Zahra wrote:

It is strange that Ibn Taymiyya gets so terribly angry at those who interpret those texts [on the Divine Attributes] figuratively [...] yet he considers [in al-Iklīl fīl-Mutashābih wal-Ta'wīl] all the names transmitted about the delights of Paradise to be figurative! [...] If he applies figurativeness here, is it not feasible to do so in order to distance himself wholly from corporeality and preclude doubt from the mind? He might reply that he only follows the texts [...]. Everyone can see that even if the Companions kept mute about that matter, nevertheless, the denial of figurative interpretation was not transmitted from them; and even if the expressions that are narrated indicate resignation (tafwīd), nevertheless, there is no affirmation of direction in the expressions that are narrated. 160

¹⁵⁷ Al-Ghazzālī, al-Mustaṣfā (p. 85); al-Nawawī, Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim (16:218).

¹⁵⁸ Ibn Taymiyya, Majmūʻ al-Fatāwā (5:199)

¹⁵⁹ Ibid. (5:103).

¹⁶⁰ Abū Zahra, Ibn Taymiyya (p. 229).

His Climbing Down the Pulpit to Illustrate the Divine Descent

The above statements support Ibn Ḥajar's and Ibn Battūta's reports that Ibn Taymiyya once climbed down the minbar in purported illustration of the descent of Allah st to the nearest heaven, saying: "Just like this descent of mine!" 161 Ibn Battūta (d. 770) said he witnessed Ibn Taymiyya preach this although his Rihla states, "I arrived Thursday 9 Ramadan 726 in Damascus," while Ibn Taymiyya was already imprisoned on Monday 16 Sha'ban 726 - according to Ibn Kathīr's citation of al-Birzālī and remained so until his death two years later. However, Ibn Battūta gathered his travel notes late in life and they were edited by Ibn Marzūq and Ibn Juzay.162 Further, Ibn Ḥajar's citation of al-Tufi is proof that Ibn Battuta is not the only contemporary to attribute this statement to Ibn Taymiyya. Therefore, it is likely the discrepancy is due to a simple inaccuracy and not, as claimed with typical elegance by one of the Wahhābīs in his Sharh Qasidat Ibn al-Qayyim, "the fabrication, by Allah, of a shameless liar!"

162 Cf. Ibn Hajar, al-Durar (5:227)

¹⁶¹ Ibn Baţţūţa, Riḥla (1:110), Ibn Ḥajar, al-Durar al-Kāmina (1:180) from al-Ţūfi as already cited, and al-Kattānī, Fahras al-Fahāris (1:201-202).

Al-Dhahabī said:

He was poor and possessed no property. His clothes were those of a common jurist: a wide-sleeved floating robe (farajiyya), an overcoat (dilq), a thirty-dirham turban ('imāma), and cheap shoes. His hair was cut. He was medium-sized and wide-shouldered. His eyes seemed two eloquent tongues. 163

The Revival of His Teachings by the Wahhābī Movement

Ibn Taymiyya's burial was attended by thousands of people. His teachings were by and large forgotten until Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Najdī brought them back from oblivion. Later, the "Salafī" movement revived them through a large-scale publication campaign backed up by political and financial activism from the 1930s to our day.

¹⁶³ In Ibn Rajab, Dhayl Țabaqāt al-Ḥanābila (2:395).

Imām Muḥammad Abū Zahra said in his book on the history of the *madhāhib* in Islām:

The "Salafis" and Ibn Taymiyya assert that settledness takes place over the Throne. [...] Ibn Taymiyya strenuously asserts that Allāh descends, and can be above (fawq) and below (taht) "without how" [...] and that the school of the Salaf is the affirmation of everything that the Qur'ān stated concerning aboveness (fawqiyya), belowness (tahtiyya), and establishment over the Throne. 164

The Wahhābīs appeared in the Arabian desert [...] and revived the School of Ibn Taymiyya. The founder of the Wahhābiyya is Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb who died in 1786. He had studied the books of Ibn Taymiyya which became inestimable in his sight, deepening his involvement with them until he brought them from the realm of opinion into the realm of practice. In reality, the Wahhābīs did not add anything to what Ibn Taymiyya had asserted but they exaggerated it beyond his intent, instituting practical matters which Ibn Taymiyya had not addressed because they were not widespread in his time. These can be summarized thus:

1. They did not view worship ('ibāda) in the same way that Islām had stipulated in the Qur'ān and Sunna and as Ibn Taymiyya had. Rather, they included customs ('ādāt) into the province of Islām so that Muslims would be bound by them as well. Thus, they declared cigarette smoking harām and exaggerated this ruling to the point that their general public considered the smoker a mushrik. As a result they resembled the Khawārij who used to declare apostate whoever committed a sin.

¹⁶⁴ Abū Zahra, Tārīkh al-Madhāhib al-Islamiyya (p. 320-322).

- In the beginning of their movement they would also declare coffee and whatever resembled it harām to themselves but it seems that they became more indulgent as time went by.
- 3. The Wahhābīs did not restrain themselves to proselytism alone, but resorted to warmongering against whoever disagreed with them. They did so on the grounds that they were fighting innovations, and innovations are an evil that must be fought, and it is obligatory to command good and forbid evil. [...] The leader of Wahhābī thought in the field of war and battle was Muḥammad ibn Sa'ūd, the ancestor of the ruling Sa'ūdī family in the Arabian lands. He was a brother-in-law to Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb and embraced his madhhab, defending it fervently and calling unto it by force of arms. He announced that he was doing this so as to uphold the Sunna and eradicate bid'a. Perhaps, this religious mission that turned violent doubled as a rebellion against Ottoman rule. [...] Then the governor of Egypt, Muḥammad 'Alī, faced them and pounced on the Wahhābīs with his formidable army, routing them in the course of several battles. At that time their military force was reduced and confined to the Arab tribes. Riyadh and its vicinity were the center for this permanent da'wa that would turn violent whenever they gathered strength and lie still whenever they found violent opposition.
- 4. Whenever they were able to seize a town or city they would come to the tombs and turn them into desolate ruins [...] and they would destroy whatever mosques were with the tombs also. [...]

- 5. Their brutality did not stop there. They also came to whatever graves were visible and similarly destroyed them. When the ruler of the Ḥijāz regions caved in to them they destroyed all the graves of the Companions and razed them to the ground. [...]
- 6. They would harp on small matters which they condemned even though these matters had nothing to do with idolatry nor with whatever leads to idolatry, such as photography. We found this in their fatwās and epistles at the hands of their Ulema, although their rulers ignore this saying of theirs completely and cast it by the wayside.
- 7. They expanded the meaning of bid'a to strange proportions, to the point that they actually claimed that draping the walls of the noble Rawḍa is an innovated matter. Hence they forbade the renewal of the drapes that were in it, until they fell in tatters and became unsightly, were it not for the light that pours out to all that are in the presence of the Prophet or feel that in this place was the abode of Revelation on the Master of Messengers. In fact, we find among them, in addition to this, those who consider that the Muslim's expression "our liege-lord (sayyidunā) Muḥammad" is an impermissible bid'a. They show true extremism about this and, for the sake of their mission, use foul and furious language until most people actually flee from them as fast as they can.
 - 8. In truth, the Wahhābīs have actualized the opinions of Ibn Taymiyya and are extremely zealous followers and supporters of those views. They adopted the positions of Ibn Taymiyya which we explained in our discussion of those who call themselves "Salafiyya." However, they enlarged the

meaning of bid'a and construed as innovations things that have no relation to worship. [...] In fact, it has been noticed that the Ulema of the Wahhābīs consider their own opinions correct and not possibly wrong, while they consider the opinions of others wrong and not possibly correct. More than that, they consider what others do in the way of erecting tombs and circumambulating them close to idolatry. In this respect, they are like the Khawarij who used to declare those who dissented with them apostate and fight them as we have already mentioned. This was a relatively harmless matter in the days when they were cloistered in the desert and not trespassing its boundaries; but when they mixed with others and the lands of Hijāz fell into the hands of the Sa'ūd family, the matter became of the utmost gravity. This is why the late King 'Abd al-'Azīz of the Sa'ūd family opposed them, and treated their opinions as confined to themselves and irrelevant to others."165

 $^{^{165}}$ Abū Zahra, Tārīkh al-Madhāhib al-Islamiyya (p. 235-238 = p. 212-214).

Selected Taymiyyan Heresiographical Literature

Akhṭā' Ibn Taymiyya fī Ḥaqqi Rasūl Allāh ﷺ wa-Ahli Baytihi ("Ibn Taymiyya's Errors Concerning the Messenger ﷺ and the People of His House"). Maḥmūd al-Sayyid Ṣubayḥ. (Cairo 2003). The most detailed scholarly analysis to date.

'Aqīdat al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ Ahlu al-Sunnati wal-Jamā'a fī Āyāt wa-Aḥādīth al-Ṣifāt Kamā Rawāhā al-Thiqāt ("Doctrine of the Pious Predecessors, the People of the Sunna and Congregation, Concerning the Verses and Ḥadīths of the Divine Attributes as Narrated by the Reliable Authorities"). Muḥammad 'Ādil 'Azīza al-Kayyālī. 600 p. (Damascus 2001). Contains analyses of the Ash'arī 'aqīda of Ibn Kathīr, al-Nawawī, Ibn Ḥajar, Ibn 'Abd al-Salām, al-Shawkānī, et al.

Ayyuhā al-Qarniyyūna Hallā Faqihtum? ("O Devil-Heads, Do You Not Understand Yet?"). Sayyid 'Izz al-Dīn Māḍī Abī al-'Azā'im. 448p. (Cairo 1996). An aggressively styled encyclopedia of refutations on the issues of intercession, madad, tawassul, tombs, ziyāra, tabarruk, vows, 'iṣma, and others.

Barā'at al-Ash' ariyyīn min 'Aqā'id al-Mu' tazilati wal-Mukhālifīn ("The Ash' arīs are Innocent of What the Mu' tazilīs and Dissenters Believe"). Sayyid Muḥammad 'Arabī ibn al-Tubbānī al-Jazā'irī al-Saṭīfī al-Makkī. 647 p. (Damascus 1967). An en-

- cyclopedia of Sunni proofs against the teachings of Ibn Taymiyya in 2 large volumes, the second of which focusses on his offensive positions regarding *Ahl Bayt*.
- Al-Baṣā'ir li-Munkirī al-Tawassul bi-Ahl al-Qabā'ir. Ḥamd Allāh al-Dājwī al-Sahāranfūrī 380 p. 1385 н. Waqf Ikhlās offset repr. An encyclopedia of proofs against Wahhābīs containing useful chapters on Ibn Taymiyya.
- Al-Farq al-ʿAzīm bayn al-Tanzīh wal-Tajsīm wa-Yalīh al-Muqtaṭaf fī Naqd al-Tuḥaf ("The Tremendous Difference Between Transcendence and Anthropomorphism"). By Saʿīd 'Abd al-Laṭīf Fawdah. 72 p. (Amman 2001). Contains a valuable critique of al-Shawkānī's 'Aqīda entitled al-Tuḥaf fī Madhāhib al-Salaf although al-Kayyālī deems its attribution to al-Shawkānī spurious.
- Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya fīl-Mīzān ("Ibn Taymiyya's Fatwās Under Scrutiny") by the Mauritanian Shaykh Muḥammad Aḥmad Miskah ibn al-'Atīq al-Ya'qūbī (Damascus 2000) mostly cites and sources Ibn Taymiyya verbatim in the following chapters:

Foreword

Introduction

- 1. Sayings of the Scholars on Ibn Taymiyya
- 2. The Hashwiyya: Ibn Taymiyya's group
- 3. The doctrine of *Ahl al-Sunna wal-Jamāʿa* Al-Ghazzālīʾs *Qawāʿid al-Aḥkām* Ibn ʿAbd al-Salāmʾs *Mulḥa*
- Chapter One: Salient characteristics of Ibn Taymiyya's Fatāwā
 - 1. The prevalence of *Tashbīh* and *Tajsīm* in the *Fatāwā* of Ibn Taymiyya
 - 2. Ibn Taymiyya's aggressiveness against his opponents and his manipulation of their words

- 3. His style of verbose argumentation
- 4. Concerning his scholarly trustworthiness
- 5. Concerning his agenda

Chapter Two: Refutation of Ibn Taymiyya's position on the direction [of the Deity]

- 1. Refutation of direction in the Qur'an and Sunna
- 2. Refutation of direction by rational proofs First Corollary

Second Corollary:

Ibn Taymiyya's virulent denial of kalām terminology

- 3. Refuting the sayings of those who affirm direction
- 4. Status of those who affirm direction according to Ahl al-Sunna

Chapter Three: Refutation of Ibn Taymiyya's creed of "contingencies subsisting in Allah se" and his belief in the pre-existence of the world

- 1. Establishing his creed from his own words
- 2. Refutation of his creed in the pre-existence of the world
- 3. The Divine transcendence beyond the subsistence of contingencies in Him

Chapter Four: Refutation of Ibn Taymiyya's statement that the Qur'ān is created and that Allāh speaks with a voice

- 1. Establishing his creed from his own words
- 2. Refutation of his creed that the Qur'an is created and his attribution of voice and silence to Allah Most High

Chapter Five: His creed in the non-'iṣma of the Prophets, upon them blessings and peace

Chapter Six: His statement that travel [solely] to visit the grave of the Prophet ## is a sin and that *tawassul* through him is *shirk* or leads to *shirk*

Chapter Seven: His statement that Hellfire comes to an end and his opinion on resurrection

Chapter Eight: His proclivity for insulting the pious servants of Allāh

Chapter Nine: His probing the positions of the philosophers and their influence on him and that of other non-believers Chapter Ten: Some issues in which he violated Consensus.

- Ibnu Taymiyyata Laysa Salafiyyan ("Ibn Taymiyya is No Salafi") by Manṣūr Muḥammad Muḥammad Uways. 267 p. (Cairo: Dār al-Nahḍat al-'Arabiyya, 1970).
- Al-Ijhāz li-Man Ankara al-Majāz ("What Lies in Store for Those Who Deny Figurative Meanings") by Shaykh 'Īsā al-Ḥimyarī. 400 p. (1998).
- Al-Kāshif al-Ṣaghīr 'an 'Aqā'id Ibn Taymiyya ("Minor Exposure of the Beliefs of Ibn Taymiyya"). By Sa'id 'Abd al-Laṭīf Fawdah. 500 p. (Amman 2000).
- Manāhij al-Ta'līm: Qirā'atun Naqdiyyatun li-Muqarrarāt al-Tawhīd by the Saudi Shaykh Ḥasan ibn Farḥān al-Mālikī of the Banū Mālik, a head-on critique of the Wahhābī curriculum in Saudi and Islamic institutions worldwide.
- Al-Qawl al-Wajīh fī Tanzīh Allāh Taʿālā ʿan al-Tashbīh ("The Eminent Discourse Concerning Divine Transcendence beyond All Resemblance to Created Things"). By Shaykh al-Sayyid Abūl-Ḥasanayn ʿAbd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Makkī al-Hāshimī عالية (Amman 1995).
- Risāla fil-Radd 'alā Ibn Taymiyya fī Mas'alati Ḥawāditha lā Awwala Lahā ("Epistle in Refutation of Ibn Taymiyya in the Question of 'Created Matters without Beginning'"). By al-Imām Bahā' al-Dīn al-Ikhmīmī al-Miṣrī (700-764). Ed. Sa'īd

'Abd al-Laṭīf Fawdah. 128 p. (Amman 1998). This was written in refutation of Ibn Taymiyya's belief that the world is of a pre-eternal nature and has existed with Allāh since pre-eternity as an "ever-abiding created object" (makhlūqan dā'iman), thus making it necessarily existent in His Essence (mūjaban bil-dhāt) and preventing Him from acting deliberately (lā fā'ilan bil-ikhtyār), elevated is He beyond that! Al-Būṭī in Kubrā al-Yaqīniyyāt al-Kawniyya called this belief Aristotelianism and, before him, Abū Isḥāq al-Isfarāyīnī said that whoever holds such a doctrine is considered a kāfir.

- Risāla Sharīfa fī-Mā Yata' allaqu bi-kam al-Bāqī min 'Umr al-Dunyā ("Noble Epistle Concerning the Remainder of the Life of this World"). By Imām al-Ṣan'ānī. Ed. al-Waṣabī al-Mathānī. (San'ā' 1992).
- Rudūd 'alā Shubuhāt al-Salafiyya ("Refutation of the Insinuations of the Salafis") 375 p. By Muḥammad Nūrī al-Shaykh Rashīd al-Naqshbandī al-Dīrshawī, a student of Dr. Sa'īd al-Būṭī. 1987 Maṭba'at al-Sabāḥ (Syria).
- Al-Salafiyyat al-Mu'āṣira: Munāqashāt wa-Rudūd ("Contemporary Salafism: Discussions and Refutations"). Sayyid Abūl-Ḥasanayn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Makkī al-Hāshimī. 230 p. (Amman 1996).
- Taṣḥīḥ al-Mafāhīm al-'Aqdiyya fīl-Ṣifāt al-Ilāhiyya ("The Validation of Doctrinal Understandings of the Divine Attributes"). By Shaykh 'Īsā ibn Māni' al-Ḥimyarī. 300 p. (Cairo 1998). Shaykh 'Umar al-Nushūqātī informed us that this work was actually authored by Farīd al-Bājī.

Al-Nabhānī's Verdict on Ibn Taymiyya

Al-Qāḍī Yūsuf al-Nabhānī said in *Shawāhid al-Ḥaqq* that he saw in his dream that Ibn Taymiyya had been forgiven but that he was in a lower level of Paradise than Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī. He never declared Ibn Taymiyya a disbeliever nor did any of the reliable Ulema of *Ahl al-Sunna*. May Allāh forgive them, take us back to Him as Muslims, and join us with His righteous servants. Āmīn.



SHAYKH GHĀWJĪ'S INTRODUCTION 166

THE SALAF, THE KHALAF, TA'WĪL AND THE CORRECTION OF ERRORS IN 'AQĪDA

The Salaf

The Salaf are those that preceded (al-mutaqaddimūn). The salaf of a man are his forefathers. Al-Kāshānī said: "The pious Salaf are the first generation, {those with a firm foothold in learning} (3:7), who are guided with the guidance of the Prophet and preserving his Sunna. Allāh Most High chose them for the companionship of His Prophet, picked them for leadership in His Religion, and was well-pleased with them as Imāms for the Umma. They waged jihād for the sake of Allāh in the true and best sense, acting with utmost faithfulness and sincerity toward the Umma."

Abū al-Ḥasan [al-Ashʿarī] said: "They are the Companions with regard to their sayings and deeds and in all [the rulings] they interpreted and extracted through their juridical exertions."

¹⁶⁶ Text translated from Shaykh Wahbī Sulaymān Ghāwjī al-Albānī's Masā'il fī 'Ilm al-Tawḥīd (al-Shāriqa: 1999) p. 29-62 – itself condensed from the introduction to his edition of Ibn Jamā'a's İdāḥ al-Dalīl fī Qaṭ'i Ḥujaji Ahl al-Ta'ṭīl (Cairo: Dār al-Salām, 1990) – as reviewed with him in his Damascus home in 2003. Author's and translator's footnotes are marked respectively [A] and [T].

Al-Ghazzālī said: "By the Salaf I mean the Madhhab of the Companions and the Tābi' īn." Al-Bājūrī, the author of the commentary on Jawharat al-Tawhīd, said: "What is meant by the Salaf is those that came before among the Prophets, the Companions, the Successors, and their successors, especially the Four Imāms."

Shaykh Maḥmūd al-Khafājī said, "The specification of a certain time is insufficient in defining this term. In addition to chronological precedence, one must add the condition that their doctrine be in conformity with the [letter of the] Book and the Sunna as well as their spirit. Whoever doctrinally contravenes the Book and the Sunna is in no way a [real] *Salafī* even if he lived among the Companions, the Successors, and their Successors." ¹⁶⁷

Shaykh Saʻīd Ramaḍān al-Būṭī said – may the Lord of all preserve him – in agreement with the above:

When the lexical meaning of *salaf* is meant, it becomes a relative term usable by all the successive periods of time like the term "before" to mean exactly the same thing. As for the conventional, technical meaning for that term, it is the first three centuries in the history of this Islamic *Umma* – the *Umma* of our Master Muḥammad . The source for this is the saying of the Messenger of Allāh as an arrated from Ibn Mas'ūd by the Two Arch-Masters: "The best of generations are my century, then those that follow them, then those that follow the latter. After that, a people will appear whose testimony precedes their oath and whose oath precedes their testimony."

¹⁶⁷ Maḥmūd al-Khafājī, *al-ʿAqīdat al-Islāmiyya Bayn al-Salafiyya wal-Muʿtazila* (p. 213). [A] Even less those who doctrinally contravene the Book and the Sunna and who are not even from the preferred centuries but reared up at the tail-end of times! [T]

He then quoted Ibn 'Abd al-Barr: "Foremost merit is firmly established for the generality of the Muslims of those first three centuries, but it might not apply to some of the individuals. Some might come in later centuries that are even better than those individuals." ¹⁶⁸

So then, those who call themselves "Salafiyya" and decline to be affiliated with one of the Four Schools that are agreed upon in the Muslim *Umma* fall into a new innovation (bid'a) while they claim to "flee from the innovation of Madhhabism," as they say [...]. Another meaning of the word *Salaf* carries even more danger; namely, the fact that the Mu'tazila, the Khawārij, the Jahmiyya, the Karrāmiyya, and the innovative Murji'a all appeared in those first three centuries. ¹⁶⁹ They are therefore of the *Salaf* chronologically and lexically, but they are definitely not of the pious *Salaf*.

It follows that the claim of those individuals calling themselves "Salafiyya" compels them to say that they are of the pious Salaf! This is an impressive claim, but for every claim the proof must be produced.

O the delight of being affiliated to one of the Four Sunni Schools, since it is so well-known that their founders were of the Imāms of the pious Salaf historically, factually, reputedly and truly! Glory and thanks to Allāh for the testimony of the Muslims of the first three centuries, among whom are the experts of the Qur'ān, the Sunna, 'Aqīda, and Fiqh, and for the de facto testimony of their times and moral conduct – Allāh Most High have mercy on them! – and for the testimony of those after the three centuries among the Ulema of Qur'ān, Sunna, 'Aqīda, and Fiqh to our very day and until mā shā' Allāh.

On those sects see our "Sunni Glossary" in The Four Imams and Their Schools. [T]

¹⁰⁸ Al-Būţī, al-Salafīyya Marḥalatun Zamaniyyatun Mubārakatun Lā Madhhabun Islāmī (p. 109) quoting Ibn Ḥajar, Fatḥ al-Bārī (7:4). [A]

Now, whosoever among them attains the rank of qualified scholarly exertion (*ijtihād*) in the knowledge of the Book, the Sunna, and the sayings of the pious *Salaf*, and whose qualification and rank in this the people of learning acknowledge without dispute, then, if he so wishes, let him not affiliate himself to any *Madhhab*, and Allāh is the Grantor of success.

The Khalaf

The *Khalaf* are the largest and most numerous group of the trustworthy Imāms and Ulema among the Jurists, *Mujtahids*, experts of the principles of the Religion (*uṣūl al-dīn*), and foremost leaders of *Tafsīr*, ḥadīth, and language that came after the first three centuries.

Many of them have formulated, concerning the verses and hadīths of the Divine Attributes, what can be described as specific interpretation (ta'wīl tafṣīlī). The latter is a subsection of what the Salaf had meant in general terms, as when they said: "While declaring Allāh transcendent beyond any resemblance to creation," the Khalaf added: "Perhaps the meaning is such-and-such." A case in point is their statement that what is meant by istiwā' in the saying of Allāh Most High, {The Merciful established Himself over the Throne} (20:4), is "establishing dominion" (istīlā'), or "ending up" (intihā'), or "perfection and completion" (al-kamāl wal-tamām), as in {and rises firm upon its stalk} (48:29). And so forth, according to what the Arabic language permits, in conformity with the affirmation (ithbāt) of the Attribute in question for Allāh Most High while declaring Him transcendent beyond any resemblance to creatures.

Not everyone that came after the first three centuries interprets the [verses and hadiths of the] Divine Attributes specifically. Rather, many consider the avoidance of probing the Divine Attributes safer. For interpretation is conjectural discourse, and the one who makes that conjecture might not attribute what is absolutely true and correct to Allāh Most High. Moreover, interpretation is a burden which we assume without having been burdened with it by Allāh Most High. It is to delve into something into which neither the Messenger of Allāh nor his Companions delved except very little.

It is true that in some cases there is no escape from specific interpretation, as when one discusses with a layperson ('āmmī) to teach them, and when the latter lives in a materialistic environment that gives a body to the exalted Deity (as is the case with Jews and Christians), or an environment that claims resemblance between Allāh Most High and creation (as did the Jahmiyya and the misguided Murji'a who claimed that Allāh Most High is "higher than a mountain" or that "His length is seven of His own hand-spans") – our refuge is in Allāh! In such a case interpretation comes first exclusively.

Specific interpretation, therefore, seems like the remedy to an ailment – and a remedy is given only in cases of illness. When the illness is over, there is no longer need for the remedy and the matter goes back to normal.

One reads in al-Musāyara by the Imām, Jurist, and expert of principles, Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Humām, and its commentary by the savant Ibn Abī Sharīf, on the verse {The Merciful established Himself over the Throne} (20:4): "In sum, it is obligatory to believe that He, Most High, established Himself over the Throne together with negating resemblance to creatures. As for the

meaning of the establishment (*istiwā*') being dominion (*istīlā*'), it is a matter of possiblity while there is no proof for it being specifically intended."¹⁷⁰

See also *Istiḥālat al-Maʿiyyati bil-Dhāt* by Shaykh Muḥammad al-Khaḍir al-Shinqīṭī, page 169, in explanation of the saying of Allāh Most High, {*Alas, my grief that I was unmindful of the side of Allāh*} (39:56) and that the meaning, as Ibn ʿAbbās said, is "What I have wasted of the Divine reward."¹⁷¹

The following are some texts from the Book of Allāh for which there is no escape from specific interpretation:

Allāh Most High said, {Allāh (Himself) does mock them, leaving them to wander blindly on in their contumacy} (2:15). Mockery is not attributed to Allāh Most High since the literal sense of mockery is not a noble trait, so what is meant is that Allāh requited them with the like of their own mockery.¹⁷²

Allāh Most High also said, {And the calf was made to sink into their hearts} (2:93): this is a metaphor (majāz) for love of the [golden] Calf – our refuge is in Allāh!

Allāh Most High also said, {*Unto Allāh belong the East and the West, and whithersoever you turn, there is Allāh's countenance*} (2:115). What is meant by the countenance (*wajh*) of Allāh? It is the direction of prayer (*qibla*).¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ Al-Musāyara ma'a al-Musāmara (p. 33). [A]

¹⁷¹ Cf. al-Alūsī, Rūḥ al-Ma'ānī (24:17) and maqtū' in the Tafsīrs of al-Ṭabarī (24:19), al-Baghawī (4:85), Ibn al-Jawzī (7:192), and al-Durr al-Manthūr. Cf. n. 186 and 384 infra. [T] 172 Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Salām in al-Ishāra ilā al-Ījāz fī Ba'd Anwā' al-Majāz ("The Metaphors of the Qur'ān"): "His sarcasm (sukhriyya), mockery (istihzā'), scheming (makr), and deceit (khid'): All of these are metaphors of similitude or metonymies naming the result by the name of its cause, His sarcasm being caused by theirs, His mockery by theirs, His scheming by theirs, and His deceit by theirs." [T]

¹⁷³ Ibn ʿAbbās in Ibn Abī Ḥātim cf. *Durr*; Qatāda and Mujāhid in al-Ṭabarī; al-Ḥasan, Qatāda, Mujāhid, and Muqātil ibn Ḥayyān in al-Baghawī. [T]

Allāh Most High also said, {Or deemed you that you would enter Paradise while yet Allāh knows not those of you who really strive, nor knows those (of you) who are steadfast?} (3:142). The knowledge of Allāh according to Ahl al-Sunna is preternal (qadīm) as are the rest of His Attributes, in no wise preceded by ignorance. So the meaning is the manifestation (zuhūr) of His knowledge.

Allāh Most High also said, {And Allāh would turn to you in mercy; but those who follow vain desires would have you go tremendously astray} (4:27). The will of Allāh cannot be repelled nor can anyone delay it in any way. Therefore what is meant here is love (al-maḥabba) and good pleasure (al-riḍā).

Allāh Most High also said, {I created the jinns and humankind only that they might worship me} (51:56). How can the Divine intent be delayed in the least? For most people do not believe! Therefore what is meant here is [His] command and love. ¹⁷⁴ Just as He said, {And they are ordered naught else than to serve Allāh, keeping religion pure for Him} (98:5).

Allah Most High also said, {He is Allah in the heavens and in the earth. He knows both your secret and your utterance, and He knows what you earn} (6:3). What is the interpretation of

As for the meaning of worship, Ibn 'Abbās said: '[Meaning] to know Me'" as cited in al-Risālat al-Qushayriyya. This is also the explanation of Ibn Jurayj and Mujāhid as in Ibn Kathir and al-Qurtubi's Tafsīrs respectively. Sīdī Muṣṭafā Baṣīr: "This is confirmed in the Qur'ān itself by the question of Allāh Most High: {And (remember) when your Lord brought forth from the Children of Ādam, from their loins, their seed, and made them testify against themselves, (saying): Am I not your Lord? They said: Yes, verily. We testify. Lest you should say at the Day of Resurrection: Lo! of this we were unaware} (7:172)." Maḥmūd and Sharīf: "He created the world so that it may be used as a sign pointing to Him, just as He said: {And (also) in yourselves. Can you then not see?} (51:21). This is why it was said, 'Those who know themselves most know their Lord most." Al-Būṭī: "That is, you can see the Divine Attributes in yourself: His power, His creation, His knowledge, His wisdom; for the fingerprints of His Attributes are in His creation." [T]

this verse? Together with His saying, {And He it is Who in the heaven is God, and on the earth God. He is the Wise, the Knower} (43:84); and His saying, {Have you taken security from Him who is in the heaven that He will not cause the earth to swallow you} (67:16); and His saying, {He is with you wheresoever you may be} (57:4); and His saying, {He is with them when by night they hold discourse displeasing unto Him. Allāh ever surrounds what they do} (4:108); and His saying, {And We are nearer unto him than you are, but you see not} (50:16). And so forth.

Ta'wīl [...] is equally practiced by the Salaf and Khalaf in general terms. Imām 'Alī al-Qārī said – Allāh have mercy on him – in Mirqāt al-Mafātīḥ Sharḥ Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ:

The Salaf and Khalaf agree over ta'wil. The difference between them is only in terminology (al-khilāfu baynahumā lafzī) as they have Consensus (ijmā') over the fact that the outward term must not be taken literally (sarf al-lafzi min zāhirih). However, the ta'wīl of the Salaf is general (ijmālī) as they practiced resignation (tafwid) to Allah Most High of the intended meaning of the wording, which is not taken literally as Allāh is beyond that. As for the Khalaf, their ta'wīl is specific (tafṣīlī) because they were forced to recur to it due to the abundance of innovators. They did not intend, in so doing, to diverge from the pious Salaf - Allah is our refuge from such a thought! It is only that necessity demanded it, in their time, due to the many anthropomorphists (mujassima), Jahmiyya, and others of the people of misguidance, lest they prevail over the minds of the general public. They intended thereby the deterrence and routing of their arguments. This is

why many of them apologized and said, "if only our times had the same purity of faith as that of the Salaf!" So what is obligatory upon us is what we mentioned regarding belief, together with the negation of resemblance. And if it is feared for laypersons that they do not understand <code>istiwā'</code> – short of saying it means <code>istīlā'</code> (dominion) – except in the sense of contact (<code>ittiṣāl</code>) and the like among the requirements of corporeality such as contiguity (<code>muḥādhāt</code>), and if it is feared that they are not actually precluding such corporeal requirements, then there is no harm in reorienting their understanding to the meaning of <code>istīlā'</code> in strict avoidance of what is forbidden, and in saying, "<code>Istiwā'</code> means <code>istīlā'</code>." ¹⁷⁵

Ta'wīl176

The basic lexical meaning of *ta'wīl* is the final resort and ultimate fate of something as when you say, "the matter has returned (*āla al-amru*) to such and such" and you have referred it or literally caused it to return (*awwaltahu ta'wīlan*). This is the lexical meaning of *ta'wīl*.

Tafsīr is also called ta'wīl. Allāh Most High said, {I will announce unto you the interpretation (ta'wīl) of what you could not bear with patience} (18:78) and {and more seemly in the end (ta'wīlan)} (4:59). And that is the elaboration of the meanings referred to by the words. The same sense al-Ṭabarī and Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qāsimī named their Tafsīrs, Jāmiʿ al-Bayān min Ta'wīl [Āy] al-Qur'ān and Maḥāsin al-Ta'wīl respectively.

¹⁷⁵ Al-Qārī, Mirqāt al-Mafātīh (Pakistani ed. 1:160 = 1994 ed. 1:280) cf. al-Musāyara ma' al-Musāmara (p. 33). [A]

¹⁷⁶ See also http://www.livingislam.org/n/tawil_e.html.
177 Al-Fakhr al-Rāzī, al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr (12:176), [A]

Ta'wil is equally shared by the Salaf and Khalaf in general terms. The Salaf upheld general ta'wil with regard to the Divine Attributes: "Let them pass just as they came," at the same time as {There is nothing whatsoever like Him and He is the All-Hearing, the All-Seeing} (42:11)[...]. And they upheld specific ta'wil with regard to some of those Attributes, over and above general ta'wil, as when they said of His saying, {And He is with you wheresoever you may be} (57:4): "Meaning, with His knowledge." 178

{*There remains but the countenance of your Lord*} (55:27), that is, Himself (*dhātuh*) – may He be glorified!¹⁷⁹

Ibn 'Abbās said, concerning the saying of Allāh Most High, {And her Lord accepted her with full acceptance} (3:37), that is, He caused her to tread the path of the felicitous, as in al-Qurtubi. 180

Allāh Most High said, {And whithersoever you turn, there is Allāh's countenance} (2:115), the qibla of Allāh wherever you turn yourselves, whether East or West.¹⁸¹

Al-Bukhārī narrated in his Ṣaḥīḥ from Tāwūs, from Ibn 'Abbās son the verse, {Then turned He to the heaven when it was smoke, and said unto it and unto the earth: Come both of you (ītiyā), willingly or unwillingly}, that is, "Give [all your benefits]" (a'ṭiyā). {They said: We come (ataynā), obedient} (41:11), that is, "We do give" (a'ṭaynā). 182

¹⁷⁸ Tafsīr Sufyān al-Thawrī and Tafsīr al-Baghawī. [T]

¹⁷⁹ Cf. al-Naḥḥās, Ma 'anī al-Qur'ān, Ibn al-Jawzī, Zād al-Masīr. [T]

¹⁸⁰ And Şaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī. [T]

¹⁸¹ See note 173. [T]

¹⁸² Ibn Abī Ḥātim and al-Ṭabarī as in al-Durr al-Manthūr; al-Baghawī; al-Alūsī. [T]

Allāh Most High said, {His seat of authority (kursī) includes the heavens and the earth} (2:255). Ibn 'Abbās said, "That is, His knowledge," as in the abridgment of Ibn Kathīr's *Tafsīr*. 183

183 Narrated marfū° from the Prophet 🥮 by Sufyān al-Thawrī with a sound chain according to Ibn Ḥajar in Fath al-Bārī (1959 ed. 8:199) and al-Ṭabarānī in al-Sunna; and mawquf from Ibn 'Abbas by al-Tabari with three sound chains in his Tafsir (3:9-11), al-Māwardī in his Tafsīr (1:908), al-Suyūtī in al-Durr al-Manthūr (1:327), al-Shawkānī in Fath al-Qadir (1:245), and others. Also narrated in "suspended" form (mu'allaq) by al-Bukhari in his Sahih from Sa'id ibn Jubayr (Book of Tafsir, chapter on the saying of Allah 🐇: {And if you go in fear, then (pray) standing or on horseback} (2:239). Its chains are documented by Ibn Hajar in Taghliq al-Ta'liq (2/4:185-186) where he shows that Sufyan al-Thawri, 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Mahdi, and Waki' narrated it marfu' from the Prophet #, although in the Fath he declares the mawquf version from Ibn 'Abbās more likely. Al-Tabari chooses it as the most correct explanation: "The external wording of the Qur'an indicates the correctness of the report from Ibn 'Abbas that it [the kursi] is His 'ilm [...] and the original sense of al-kursī is al-'ilm." Another authentically related mawquf report from Ibn 'Abbas has, "The kursi is the footstool (mawdi' al-qadamayn)." The difference between the two is that in the first report he explicitly attributes knowledge to Allah % while in the second he does not attribute the feet nor the footstool to Him. The latter is narrated with a sound chain by al-Tabarānī in al-Kabīr (12:39 §12404) as stated by al-Haythamī (6:323), al-Bayhaqī in al-Asmā' (2:196 \$758), Ibn Khuzayma in al-Tawhīd (p. 108), al-Hākim (2:282), who declared it saḥīḥ, al-Khatīb in Tārīkh Baghdād (9:251), Ibn Abī Shayba in al- 'Arsh (p. 79 §61), Abū al-Shaykh in al- 'Azama (2:552-553 §196, 2:582 §216); and marfū° - erroneously - by al-Daraqutnī in al-Ṣifāt (p. 49-50 §36) and Ibn Mandah in al-Radd 'alā al-Jahmiyya (p. 44-45). Ibn al-Jawzī in al-'Ilal (1:22) declared that it should not be considered a marfu' Prophetic report, a verdict confirmed by al-Dhahabī in his Mīzān (2:265), Ibn Kathīr in his Tafsīr (1:317), and Ibn Ḥajar in al-Tahdhīb (4:274), cf. Aḥdab, Zawā'id (7:37-39 \$1383). Al-Bayhaqī said: "He did not attribute the feet [to Allah %], nor did Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī in his own identical statement [Asmā' (2:296-297 §859) with a weak chain], and this [non-attributive form] seems the soundest version. Its interpretation among the authorities is that the kursī in relation to the Throne is as the footstool is in relation to the couch under which a footstool is placed for the person reclining on it [...] At any rate, this is a halted report which is not narrated from the Prophet . As for our early companions, they did not explain such cases nor did they preoccupy themselves with interpreting them, believing, at the same time, that Allah 號 is One without parts or limbs." Al-Qurtubi in his Tafsir (3:278) cites a similar explanation from Ibn 'Atiyya. Elsewhere (2:272) al-Bayhaqi, like al-Bukhārī and al-Tabarī before him, gives precedence to Ibn 'Abbās's authentic explanation of the kursi as "His Knowledge." Ibn Kathir states his preference for the narration of the footstool in the introduction of his Bidāya while al-Baydāwī (1:555) considers it "pure imagery" (tamthīl mujarrad) "and there is no seat and no one sitting in reality" (wa-lā kursī fīl-haqīqa wa-lā qā'id). [T]

And He said, {And your Lord shall arrive} (89:22), that is, His command (amruhu) and His decree (qaḍā'uhu), and His signs have appeared, as stated in al-Shawkānī's Tafsīr (5:440). Ibn 'Abbās said, "His command and His decree," as did al-Ḥasan. 184

I mentioned numerous similar examples for specific interpretation among the pious *Salaf* in my book *al-Īmānu bil-Lāhi Taʿālā* (p. 140)[...].

[More of] the specific interpretation of the *Salaf* has been transmitted to us in some places, as is mentioned below with regard to "withness" (*ma'iyya*), while many of the later accomplished experts refrained from interpretation in the specific matters that can be appropriately confined to their wordings, while resigning their intended meaning to Allāh Most High. This shows how methodologically close the *Salaf* and *Khalaf* are in reality.¹⁸⁵

Preconditions for Accepting Ta'wīl

The savant Muḥammad Abū Zahra – Allāh have mercy on him – said:

Ta'wīl consists in taking a wording away from its literal meaning to another possible meaning which is not apparent in it. There are three preconditions for *ta'wīl*:

- 1. The original wording must carry the possibility, even remotely, of the interpretive meaning in a way that does not make that meaning totally alien to it.
- 2. There must be a compelling reason for ta'wīl. For example, the letter of the text must somehow contravene an obliga-

¹⁸⁴ Cf. al-Wāḥidī and al-Baghawī. [T]

¹⁸⁵ Cf. al-Shinqiti, Istihālat al-Ma'iyyati bil-Dhāt (p. 72). [A]

torily known, well-established and well-known rule of the Religion; that is, it contradicts a text (naṣṣ) stronger than it in transmission; for example, when a ḥadīth contradicts a verse while the ḥadīth can be interpreted figuratively (qābilan lil-ta'wīl). In such a case the ḥadīth is interpreted figuratively or even rejected [...].

3. The interpretation must not be unsupported (min ghayri sanad), but rather, it must be supported and drawn (lahu sanad wa-mustamadd) from what makes [knowledge] necessary (al-mūjibāt).

Ibn Daqiq al-'Īd said:

If ta'wīl is close to the language of the Arabs it is not disapproved; if far, we neither confirm nor deny it (tawaqqafnā fīh) while believing in its intended meaning together with upholding transcendence. Whatever is understood in those words of the communication of the Arabs, we endorse it without hesitation, as in the saying of Allāh Most High, {Alas, my grief that I was unmindful of the side of Allāh} (39:56): we say it means the right owed to Allāh and what is obligatory to pay Him. 186

In Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azīm al-Zarqānī, Manāhil al-'Irfān fī 'Ulūm al-Qurān (2:186). [A] Ibn Hajar reports Ibn Daqīq al-'Īd as saying: "We say concerning the various Attributes that they are real and true according to the meaning Allāh swills for them. As for those who interpret them, we look at their interpretation: if it is close to the rules of language in use among the Arabs we do not reject it, and if it is far we relinquish it and return to basic belief while declaring Transcendence." In Fath al-Bārī (1959 ed. 13:383). Al-Qārī for his part also quotes Ibn Daqīq al-'Īd as saying: "If interpretation stems from an evident and prevalent figurative understanding, then it ought to be applied without reserve. If it stems from a far-fetched, aberrant figurative understanding, then it ought to be left out. If one is as good as the other, then difference in its permissibility or impermissibility is a matter of juridical exertion. This matter does not present any danger to the two sides of the argument." Mirqāt al-Mafātīḥ (1892 ed. 2:136-137=1994 ed. 3:298-301). [T]

Qāḍī Abū Bakr Ibn al-'Arabī said, after some precious words:

The sound hadiths in this chapter – of the Divine Attributes – fall into three categories. The first category: Whatever is narrated which denotes pure perfection utterly devoid of defects. It is obligatory to believe them. The second category: Whatever is narrated which denotes pure imperfection. This can never be attributed to Allāh Most High in any way whatsoever and He is by absolute necessity expressly devoid of such a description, as in the hadīth: "My servant! I was sick and you never visited Me"¹⁸⁷ and the like. The third category: Whatever denotes perfection but suggests likeness to creatures (*tashbīh*).

In the first category there is, for example: Oneness (wahdāniyya), Knowledge ('ilm), Power (qudra), Will (irāda), Life (hayāt), Hearing (sam'), Encompassment (iḥāṭa), Decree of all circumstances (taqdīr), Disposal (tadbīr), and Exemption from any match (mathīl) or counterpart (nazīr). There is nothing to object to such reports.

As for the second category, for example His saying – Most High! – {Who is it that will lend unto Allāh a goodly loan} (2:245), or in the ḥadīth qudsī: "I was hungry and you did not feed Me, I was thirsty [...]" then both those that are protected [against confusion] and those that are outside [belief], the learned and the ignorant know that the above are figurative expressions (kināya) for the tenor of the meaning pertaining to these defective states, but He attributed them to His glorious and sanctified Self as an immense honor and homage to His friend, to make hearts tender and soft. This, O

188 Ibid. [T]

¹⁸⁷ Narrated from Abū Hurayra by al-Bukhārī and Muslim. [T]

people of sound minds, is a warning to you regarding all possible wordings. For He has mentioned the safe wordings that denote perfection and are obligatory to believe in His regard; and He has mentioned the defective wordings and lowly meanings of which He is categorically and absolutely exempt. Now, if these two types of wordings are made to face one another, it becomes obligatory for every sensible believer to treat the latter as figurative expressions for the meanings that are appropriate for Him, and negate from Him what is impermissible to ascribe to Him.

Thus, His statements about "the arm/hand" (al-yad) "the forearm" (al-sā'id), "the palm" (al-kaff), and "the finger" (alisba') are forceful and expressive style ('ibārātun badī'atun) pointing to lofty meanings. For the forearm among the Arabs denotes strength, grip, and force. Do you not see what al-Zubayr said when he struck an enemy fighter with the sword and cleaved him in two until he reached what was under him, and he was told: "That is some sword!" But he replied: "It is not the sword but the sā'id!"189 This is the reason the Prophet said to Abū al-Ahwas about the latter's father: "He maims camels then calls them, 'Allah's Cripples' - but the forearm (sā'id) of Allāh is stronger and His blade sharper!"190 This is a threat for him because of his ugly deeds and as a warning of Divine disgrace and requital. It is in this context that he attributed a forearm to Allah - for the entire matter belongs to Allah - just as he attributed a blade to Him.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Fā* 'iq (1:88). [T]

 $^{^{190}}$ Narrated from Mālik ibn Naḍla by Aḥmad, al-Ṭabarānī in al-Kabīr (19:283), and Ibn al-Qāni in Mu jam al-Ṣaḥāba (3:42). [T]

Similarly, the saying of the Prophet : "Truly, sadaqa falls into the palm of the Merciful" by which he denoted the palm of the pauper as an honor for the latter. One of the scholars even said that in the saying, "The upper hand is better than the lower hand," the upper hand refers to the hand of the beggar who is given and takes the sadaqa for that reason. So the palm was attributed to Him as an honor for it. In the same way He said, {the she-camel of Allāh} (90:13), and there are many more examples of this.

We have already clarified the use of the fingers and its wisdom in the context of the transformation effected by them. 194 What is turned around by the fingers is easier, lighter, and faster. Therefore, the Creator wanted to show the lightness of the heavens, the earth, and all creation in comparison to His Power, and to express the swiftness of the heart's transformation by placing it between the two fingers as well as its helplessness and insignificance. Both the heart and all creatures are as nothing to the Merciful with respect to His

¹⁹¹ See n. 429. [T]

¹⁹² Narrated from Ḥakim ibn Ḥizām, Ibn 'Umar, Abu Hurayra, and Abu Umāma by the Nine except Ibn Mājah. [T]

¹⁹³ Al-Nawawi: "A possessive of honor and exclusivity, as one says of the Ka'ba 'the House of Allāh' et cetera, and Allāh knows best." Sharh Şahih Muslim (16:166). [T]

¹⁹⁴ In the two hadīths, [1] "Allāh places the heavens on a finger, the earths on a finger, the trees on a finger, the undersoil on a finger, and all creatures on a finger." Narrated from Ibn Mas' ūd by al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Tīrmidhī, and Aḥmad. [2] "There is no heart except it lies between the two fingers of the Merciful. If He wishes, He will set it aright; and if He wishes, He will lead it astray." Narrated from 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr by Muslim and Aḥmad, from Anas by al-Tīrmidhi (hasan ṣahīh) and Ibn Mājah, and from al-Nawwās ibn Sam'ān al-Kilābī by Aḥmad, al-Nasā'ī, Ibn Mājah, Ibn Ḥībbān, al-Ḥākim, and others, all with sound chains. Al-Ḥākim declared the hadīth sound. The continuation of the hadīth states that the Prophet ** used to say: "O Transformer of hearts! Make firm our hearts in Your Religion," and that he also said: "And the balance is in the hand of the Merciful, He elevates a people while he abases others and so on until the Day of Resurrection." On these hadīths see al-Nawawī's ta'wīl in our Ash'arī School and the article "The Hand of Allāh" in our Sunna Notes series. [T]

power over them and their insignificance. It was also said that "between the two fingers" is a figurative expression for the two dispositions. One disposition comes from the angel inspiring one to choose goodness and confirm truth, the other coming from the devil inspiring one to choose evil and deny truth.

As for the cubit/arm (*dhirā*'), we have noted that it was mentioned in absolute terms without attribution to Allāh Most High Who said, {*And then insert him in a chain whereof the length is seventy cubits*} (69:32). As for the ḥadīth in which is found the term "the *dhirā*' of *al-Jabbār*," it is inauthentic [...]. Rather, the sound-chained version from Abū Hurayra states, "The thickness of the skin of the disbeliever will be forty cubits" unmodified and without further additions. We do not look twice at the ḥadīth containing an addition. 196

The Later Need for Ta'wīl According to Ahl al-Sunna

Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azīm al-Zarqānī said - Allāh have mercy on him:

- 1. Ta'wīl is obedience to the order we were given of assenting to the ambiguous texts (al-mutashābih) and adhering to the unambiguous (al-muḥkam), while understanding the former in the light of the latter, since the meaning of the latter is manifest, contrary to that of the former.
- 2. *Ta'wīl* is true and correct so that the Believer does not fall into contradictions when he reads certain verses, for example,

196 Ibn al- Arabī, al- Awāṣim min al-Qawāṣim (Ammār al-Ṭālibī ed. 2:42f.). [A]

Narrated from Abū Hurayra by Aḥmad through 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Dīnār whose ḥadīth forms no proof if it contains singularities. The same ḥadīth is narrated by Muslim, al-Tirmidhī, and Aḥmad without the terms in question. [T]

the attribution of "an eye" to Allāh Most High, "eyes," "two hands," and "hands"; or that He is in the heaven and in the earth, and that He is with His creation anywhere they be, and so forth.

If we leave the texts to their appearent meaning we will fall into contradiction. This is impossible in the glorious Qur'ān: {If it had been from other than Allāh they would have found therein much incongruity} (4:82). However, when we exempt Allāh from any resemblance whatsoever to His creation in all such texts, then resign their meaning to Him, we become safe from contradictions in our understanding and make the Qur'ān safe from any misperceived incongruity in it.

Further, it makes no difference whether *ta'wīl* is general or specific since it is the only way contradiction and contravention of meanings that pertain to the Divine Attributes and the glorious Book can be avoided.

- 3. Ta'wil whether general or specific is the path of the pious Salaf among the Companions and those after them, and these are the most proficient of all human beings in Islām after the Messenger of Allāh ...
- 4. Ta'wīl as followed by Ahl al-Sunna wal-Jamā'a is the protection of the general public in particular, by Divine permission, from falling into aberrant comparisons and anthropomorphism.
- 5. As mentioned, recourse to specific and detailed *ta'wīl* is on the basis of need.

6. Among the preconditions of ta'wīl is that it must conform to the principles of the Arabic language and rhetorical style among the Arabs. As for what does not, then such ta'wīl is neither licit nor acceptable.¹⁹⁷

An example of the latter is the *ta'wīl* of the Bāṭiniyya and the people of innovation – refuge is in Allāh!

Ta'wīl Does Not Mean Negation of the Attributes

A certain type among the seekers of knowledge erroneously thinks that ta'wil of the attribute of the "laughter" of Allah Most High to mean His mercy - as done by al-Bukhārī in his Sahīh is a negation (nafī) of the attribute of laughter from Allāh Most High. Allah forbid! He also thinks that tawil of the attribute of istiwa to mean elevation or dominion (istīla) as opposed to settlement and sitting, is a negation of the attribute of istiwa' from Allah Most High. He also thinks that ta'wil of the withness (ma'iyya) of Allah Most High with His creation to mean the withness of knowledge and encompassment (ihāṭa) is a negation of the attribute of ma'iyya from Allah Most High, Refuge is in Allāh! When did the overwhelming masses of the Muslims among the pious Salaf and those that trod their path ever negate the Divine Attributes when they are the reliable trustees in receiving knowledge and conveying it to those after them? May Allah be glorified!

¹⁹⁷ Manāhil al. 'Irfān. [A] I did not find the quotation in the Manāhil nor is it referenced to it in the identical text printed in the introduction of Īḍāḥ al-Dalīl (p. 61-62). It appears to be from Abū Zahra's *Uṣūl al-Fiqh* or the words of Shaykh Ghāwjī himself but he could not positively confirm this upon review, and Allāh knows best. [T]

The most erudite, accomplished scholar and proof in the Religion, al-Kawtharī said – Allāh have mercy on him:

{The Merciful established Himself over the Throne} (20:5): Whoever denies that the Merciful established Himself on the Throne has denied a verse from the glorious Dhikr and thereby commits disbelief. However, the established istiwā' for Allāh Most High is an istiwā' that befits His Majesty according to the meaning intended by Allāh Most High and by the Messenger of Allāh , without probing the meaning, in accordance with the path of the Salaf such as Ibn Mahdī.

The path of the *Khalaf* is to understand this to mean sovereignty (*mulk*) and the like, as dictated by language. In this there is no negation of the verse. This can never be said of them! As for understanding it to mean "sitting" and "settlement," then this is manifest deviance.¹⁹⁸

Note the difference between the above discourse and that of the author of the *Nūniyya* poem who claims:

"And the Throne, they emptied it of the Most Merciful!" 199

It seems that the above writer considers the truth to be that Allāh Most High sits on the Throne and fills its vacant spot – our refuge is in Allāh! This is very grave.

Worse than the above is the view of the author's teacher [Ibn Taymiyya] as related by the ḥadīth Master and commentator of the Qur'ān, Abū Ḥayyān, who was dazzled by him for some time then abandoned him and loathed him when he read the following words by him. Abū Ḥayyān said:

199 Ibn al-Qayyim, Nūniyya. [T]

¹⁹⁸ Al-Kawtharī, commentary on al-Bayhaqī's al-Asmā' wal-Ṣifāt (p. 249). [A]

I read in a book by Aḥmad ibn Taymiyya – that man who is our contemporary – in his handwriting, which he titled "Book of the Throne" (Kitāb al-'Arsh), that Allāh Most High sits on the Kursī and leaves a spot vacant on it on which He makes the Messenger of Allāh sit with Him. Al-Tāj Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Bārnibārī obtained it from him by ruse, after he led him to think that he was going to promote his cause. He took it from him and we read this in it.²⁰⁰

²⁰⁰ Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī, al-Nahr al-Mādd (1:254), and there is no power nor might except in Allāh. [A] Ḥajjī Khalīfa said: "Ibn Taymiyya authored a book titled al-'Arsh in which he stated that Allāh sits on the Kursī and leaves some space vacant for the Prophet to sit next to him. Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī mentioned it in [his Qur'ānic commentary entitled] al-Nahr and said that he read it in Ibn Taymiyya's own handwriting." Ḥajjī Khalīfa, Kashf al-Zunān (2:1438). This mention was removed from the printed edition of both Abū Ḥayyan's commentaries al-Baḥr al-Muhīṭ and al-Nahr al-Mādd min al-Baḥr [passage on Āyat al-Kursī] by their Cairo publisher as the latter acknowledged it himself. See al-Kawtharī's note in his commentary on al-Subki's al-Sayf al-Ṣaqīl (p. 96-97) and al-Ghumārī's Bida' al-Tafāsīr (p. 156). [T]

Putting to Rest Certain Insinuations and Warning of Certain Scholarly Errors That Pertain to Doctrine

The Issue of Limit (Hadd) in the Attributes and Names

1. Imām Abū Ḥanīfa – Allāh have mercy on him – said in al-Fiqh al-Akbar: "He is 'something' yet not like things, and the meaning of something is that we affirm His existence without body, substance, accident, limit or counterpart." ²⁰¹

Imām Aḥmad used to say: "Allāh Most High has two hands that are an attribute of His. They are not limbs. Nor are they made of parts. Nor are they a body nor are they corporeal. Nor are they among things limited, composites, portions nor limbs. Nor is any analogy permissible on that basis. One does He have an elbow nor a muscle nor anything else of what their saying hand entails except what the noble Qur'ān said." Abū al-Faḍl al-Tamīmī the head of the Ḥanbalīs in Baghdād said:

Aḥmad rebuked whoever attributed a body to Allāh [...]. Names are taken from the Divine Law and from language. The linguists use that name [i.e., "body"] for something

²⁰⁰ Such as saying, as the anthropomorphists do: "Since 'your Lord is not one-eyed,' therefore we affirm two eyes for Him." [T]

²⁰³ Cf. Tabaqāt al-Ḥanābila, "Imām Aḥmad's Doctrine" (2:391). [A]

²⁰¹ In al-Qārī's *Sharḥ al-Fiqh al-Akbar* (p. 36). [A] Or: "He is an entity but not in the sense of created entities." Hamid Algar has: "He is a thing, but unlike other things; by saying 'thing,' we intend merely to affirm His reality. He has neither body nor substance, neither accidental property nor limit, neither opposite nor like nor similitude." [T]

possessing length, width, density, complexity, image, and composition. Allah Most Exalted is completely free of all that and nothing was reported in the Divine Law to that effect, so it is false.

The hadīth Master al-Bayhaqī cited it in his book Manāqib al-Imām Ahmad.

Imām Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī said in Bayān al-Sunnati wal-Jamāʿa:

Allāh Most Glorious is beyond having limits placed on Him, or having boundaries, or having parts, limbs or organs! Nor is He contained by the six directions as all created things are.

Ibn Baṭṭāl said of the verse {for what I created with both My Hands} (38:75):

In this verse there is the affirmation of two hands for Allāh Most High. They are two attributes of His and not limbs, contrary to what the anthropomorphists who affirm the Attributes and the Jahmiyya who deny them say.²⁰⁴

In contrast to the above, 'Uthmān ibn Sa'īd al-Dārimī (not the compiler of the Sunan but a different man) said:

Allāh Most High has a limit which none but He knows and it is impermissible for anyone to imagine that His limit possesses a boundary. However, we believe in the limit and we commit that to Allāh. Further, place is also a limit and He is over His Throne above His heavens, so these are two limits (haddān ithnān) [...]. Therefore, whoever claims He has no limit has denied the Qur'ān. 205

²⁰⁴ Fath al-Bārī (13:393). [A]

As for Ibn Taymiyya, he said:

It is well-known that the Book, the Sunna, and the Consensus nowhere say that all bodies ($ajs\bar{a}m$) are created, and nowhere say that Allāh Himself is not a body. Nor did any of the Imāms of the Muslims ever say such a thing.²⁰⁶ Therefore if I also choose not to say it, it does not expel me from fitra nor from Shari a.²⁰⁷

Ibn Taymiyya also said in Muwafaqat al-Manqul:

There is agreement one and all among the Muslims and the disbelievers [sic] that Allāh Most High is in the heaven and they ascribed it to Him as a limit except al-Marrīsī the misguided and his friends. Even little boys that have not reached puberty know this: when a boy is sad he raises his hand to his Lord and calls unto Him in the heaven and nowhere else. Everybody knows of Allāh and His place (makānih) better than the Jahmiyya! [...]. All this and its like are corroborations and proofs for a limit, and whoever does not admit it has committed disbelief in the Divine Revelation and has denied the verses of Allāh!²⁰⁸

Al-Dhahabī rejected this position of his teacher and said:

Exalted is Allāh beyond being ascribed a limit or being described other than in the terms He described Himself or taught His Messengers, according to the meaning He wants, without similitude nor modality – {There is nothing

²⁰⁶ The contrary is true. See n. 127. [T]

²⁰⁷ Al-Kawthari, marginalia on al-Jazari's al-Maș' ad al-Ahmad (p. 839). [A] Cf. n. 128. [T] ²⁰⁸ Muwāfaqat Ṣariḥ al-Ma'qūl (2:29). [A] This book, originally published in the margins of Minhāj al-Sunna al-Nabawiyya, was republished under the title Dar' Ta' āruḍ al-'Aqli wal-Naal (2:58-59). [T]

whatsoever like Him, and He is the All-Hearing, the All-Seeing} (42:11).²⁰⁹

Ibn Taymiyya also said:

There is not, in the Book of Allāh, nor in the Sunna of His Messenger $\stackrel{\text{def}}{\Rightarrow}$, nor in the words of any of the Salaf of the Community and its Imāms, anything saying that He is not a body and that His attributes are not bodies and accidents (a' $r\bar{a}d$). Therefore, to negate meanings established in the Law by negating wordings whose meanings neither Law nor reason ever negated is ignorance and misguidance!²¹⁰

We already cited the words of Abū Ḥanīfa, Aḥmad, al-Tamīmī, and al-Ṭaḥāwī negating limit and corporeality for Allāh Most High.²¹¹

2. The saying of Allāh Most High, {The Merciful established Himself over the Throne} (20:5).

Ibn Isḥāq [Abū Bakr al-Ṣibghī] said: "He established himself without 'how." The transmitted reports from the Salaf to that

²⁰⁹ Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā' (Risāla ed. 16:97). [A] Al-Dhahabī also says in Mīzān al-I' tidāl (3:507): "There is no text for either the denying or the asserting [of a limit for Allāh] while there is nothing like unto Allāh whatsoever. Therefore, whoever asserts a limit to Allāh is told: 'You have given limits to Allāh by your view without proof from a text, and he who has limits is [necessarily] created – exalted is Allāh beyond this!' while the one who asserts a limit says to the other: 'You have reduced your Lord to a nonexistent thing, for there is no limit to the nonexistent.' Therefore, whoever affirms Transcendence for Allāh and keeps silent, he is safe and has followed the road of the Salaf." Ibn Ḥajar in Lisān al-Mīzān (5:114) rejects al-Dhahabī's reasoning as fallacious: "Al-Dhahabī's words, 'the one who asserts a limit says to the other: <You have reduced your Lord to a nonexistent thing, for there is no limit to the nonexistent>' are untrue. We do not grant that to deny limit to Allāh is tantamount to reducing Him to the nonexistent after the certifude of His existence." Note that al-Dhahabī does not explicitly endorse those words. [T]

²¹¹ See more additional references on the heresy of attributing limits in the chapter on Imām Ahmad in our *Four Imāms and their Schools*. [T]

effect are many, and to this path points the School of al-Shāfiʻī – Allāh Most High have mercy on him – and this is the position of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Faḍl al-Bajalī, and, among the later authorities, Abū Sulaymān al-Khaṭṭābī, as stated in al-Asmā' wal-Ṣifāt by Imām al-Bayhaqī.²¹²

When Rabī'at al-Raī – the teacher of Imām Mālik, Allāh have mercy on both of them – was asked about the saying of Allāh Most High, {The Merciful established Himself over the Throne} (20:5), and "How did He establish Himself?" he said:

"The how is unknown, the establishment is inconceivable (ghayr $ma'(q\bar{u}l)$), and it is your obligation to believe in this."

Imām Aḥmad said - Allāh Most High have mercy on him:

We believe that Allāh Most High is over the Throne howsoever He wants and in the way He wants, without circumscribable limit nor describable attribute whatsoever. The Attributes of Allāh are from Him and to Him and He is as He described Himself, {Vision comprehends Him not} (6:103).²¹⁴

Al-Ṭaḥāwī also said in his summation of Imām Abū Ḥanīfa's doctrine – Allāh have mercy on both of them [as per the Madīna ms. of the Ṭaḥāwiyya and its commentary by al-Bābartī]:

The Throne and the Footstool are true; He is in no need of the Throne and that which is beneath it; He encompasses all things and that which is above it, and what He has created is incapable of encompassing Him.

²¹² Al-Asmā' wal-Ṣifāt (p. 409-410). [A]

²¹³ Ibid. [A]

²¹⁴ Ibn Taymiyya, *Radd Taʿāruḍ al-Naql* [*al-Muwājaqa*] (2:30) and al-Khallālʾs *Kitāb al-Sunna*. [A] Also narrated from Ḥanbal ibn Isḥāq by Abū Yaʿlā in *Ibṭāl al-Taʾwīl* per Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Taʾsīs* = *Bayān Talbīs* (2:173). [T]

What is above the Throne of the Merciful is Umm al-Kitāb.

Whereas Ibn Taymiyya said:

"He is – exalted is He! – above His heavens, over the Throne, separate from His creatures, and despite this He is with them wheresoever they are." ²¹⁵

And he said [in al-Ta'sīs]:

"The Creator Most High and Exalted is above the world literally, not in the sense of an aboveness of rank." ²¹⁶

Similarly, Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-'Uthaymīn said in his book 'Aqīdat Ahl al-Sunna – prefaced by Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Bāz:

"Whoever has such attributes is with His creatures literally even if He is above them and on His Throne literally, {*There is nothing whatsoever like Him, and He is the All-Hearing, the All-Seeing*} (42:11)."²¹⁷

He also said in one of his fatwas:

In sum, our doctrine [concerning {with} in such verses as {And He is with you wheresoever you may be} (57:4) and {He is with them wheresoever they may be} (58:7)] is that Allāh Most High possesses literal "withness" with His very Essence (ma'iyya ḥaqīqiyya dhātiyya) in the way that befits Him²¹⁸ and entails His encompassment of all things with His knowledge, power, hearing, sight, authority, and disposal [...]²¹⁹

²¹⁵ Ibn Taymiyya, *Fatāwā* (3:390-393). [A]

²¹⁶ [Al-Ta'sīs] (1:101). [A]

²¹⁷ 'Aqīdat Ahl al-Sunna wal-Jamā'a (p. 9). [A]

²¹⁸ Anthropomorphists always follow up the greatest enormities with the phrase "in the way that befits Him," which they imagine exonerates them of $tashb\bar{t}h$. [T]

^{&#}x27;Uthaymin, Fatāwā fil-'Aqīda. [T]

See the rebuttal of Ibn 'Uthaymīn in Shaykh 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥawwās al-Najdī's epistle entitled al-Nuqūl al-Ṣaḥīḥatu al-Wāḍiḥa 'an al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ fī Ma'nā al-Ma'iyyat al-Ilāhiyyat al-Ḥaqīqiyya ("The Clear Sound Reports from the Pious Predecessors on the Meaning of the Literal Divine Withness").

Ibn Taymiyya further said in his commentary on the hadīth of the Descent:

The established position – and it is the correct position and the position received from the Predecessors of the Community and its Imāms²²⁰ – is that He is above the Throne unceasingly and the Throne is never devoid of Him, together with His approach and descent (*dunuwwih wa-nuzūlih*) to the nearest heaven without the Throne being above Him.²²¹

He even said, "The Scholars approved by Allāh and His accepted Friends have narrated that Muḥammad the Messenger of Allāh will be seated by His Lord on the Throne next to Him." 222

Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Bāz said in one of his fatwās: "The statement that Allāh exists in every place is the greatest kufr."

²²⁰ Typical of Ibn Taymiyya's polemical method is *tahwīl* – the bombastic attempt to canonize his own position as being that of the Book, the Sunna, the *Salaf*, the Imāms, etc. and to constantly demonize the position of those he tries to refute as being that of Jahmīs, Christians, Jews, Hindus, Brahmans etc. cf. notes 281, 315, 343, 376, 378, 399 [...]. His student Ibn al-Qayyim faithfully emulates his style: "This is a position rejected by the Book, the Sunna, the Consensus of the Companions, as well as the evidence given by reason, common sense, and Pristine Disposition, and is the position of one who does not know his own soul let alone the souls of others!" Ibn al-Qayyim, *al-Rūḥ* (1975 ed. p. 111=1998 ed. p. 286). [T]

²²¹ Sharḥ Ḥadīth al-Nuzūl (p. 66). [A] On the Sunni understanding of the "Descent" see "Allāh's Descent" in our Sunna Notes series. [T]

²²² Ibn Taymiyya's *Fatāwā* (3:374). [A] Cf. above, p. 92 and note 153. [T]

Then he said, "Because Allāh is above His Throne, above all His creatures." ²²³

I ask, what is the patent, unambiguous difference between Ibn 'Uthaymīn's statement that Allāh is "with His creatures literally," the claim that "Allāh is in every place," and Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azīz's statement, "Because Allāh is above His Throne, above all His creatures"?

What refutes the latter is that there is no explicit proof-text denoting aboveness (fawqiyya) for Allāh Most High. What was transmitted was {over the Throne} (20:5). Then what is his proof? And who are his predecessors among the early authorities in saying such a statement? Moreover, the phrase "above His creatures" reeks of the attribution of place to Allāh Most High. Exalted is He beyond the attributes of creatures! [...]. 'Uthmān ibn Sa'īd al-Dārimī said:

As for your [al-Marrīsī's] statement that He is "not separate (bā'in) with any segregation nor gap between Him and His creation," you have lied in your statement and went astray from the right way. Rather, He is separate from His creation and above His Throne with a huge gap (bi-furjatin kabīra) and the seven heavens are between Him and His creatures on the earth. 224

The Ulema have said that the expressions "with His Essence" (bi-dhātih) and "separate from His creation" (bā'in min khalqih) were not transmitted to describe Allāh Most High in any verse nor ḥadīth whatsoever, nor did any Companion ever say them.

²²³ Jarīdat 'Akkāz (27 Dhūl-Ḥijja 1412). [A] Sulaymān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 1817 CE), the grandson of the founder of the Wahhābī sect, said, "Whoever believes or says that Allāh is in person (bi-dhātihi) in every place, or in one place: he is a disbeliever." Al-Tawdīḥ 'an Tawḥīd al-Khallāq fī Jawāb Ahl al-'Irāq (1319/1901, p. 34, and new ed. al-Riyadh: Dār Ṭayba, 1984). [T]

²²⁸ Al-Naqd (p. 79). [A]

Rather, these two expressions were invented by one or more persons in the course of refuting their opponents. The Imāms said this, including al-Kawtharī. So did Nāṣir al-Albānī in the abridgment of al-Dhahabī's 'Uluw. Those that used those expressions have said what no one said before about Allāh and have gone astray with good intentions but evil expressions.

Al-Dhahabī in the biographical notice on "the ḥadīth Master and Proof in the Religion (Ḥujja)" Abū Naṣr al-Sijzī cites the latter's words in his book al-Ibāna:

Our Imāms such as Sufyān al-Thawrī, Mālik, Ḥammād ibn Salama, Ḥammād ibn Zayd, Sufyān ibn 'Uyayna, al-Fuḍayl [ibn 'Iyād], Ibn al-Mubārak, Aḥmad, and Isḥāq [ibn Rāhūyah] are in agreement that Allāh Almighty is in person (bi-dhātihi)

²²⁵ Such as Ibn al-Mubārak as narrated from 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Shaqīq by al-Bayhaqī cf. note 415. In contrast, [1] Abū Nu'aym (1997 ed. 1:114 §227) narrates with his chain from 'Alī, in the chapter on 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, the latter's saying to the forty Jews who asked him about the nature and description of Allah: "How can even the most eloquent tongues describe Him Who did not exist among things so that He could be said to be 'separate from them' (ba'in)? Rather, He is described without modality, and He is {nearer to [man] than his jugular vein] (50:16)." [2] Ibn Mahdī al-Ṭabarī said, as cited by al-Bayhaqī, op. cit. (Kawtharī ed. p. 410-411=Ḥāshidī ed. 2:308-309): "The Pre-Eternal One (al-Oadim) is thus elevated over His Throne but neither sitting on (qa'id) nor standing on (qa'im) nor in contact with (mumass) nor separate from (mubayin) the Throne meaning separate in His Essence in the sense of physical separation or distance. For 'contact' and its opposite 'separation,' 'standing' and its opposite 'sitting' are all the characteristics of bodies (ajsām), whereas {Allāh is One, Everlasting, neither begetting nor begotten, and there is none like Him} (112:1-4). What is allowed for bodies is impermissible for Him." This shows with remarkable clarity that those who made it a categorical imperative to declare that "Allah is separate from creation" such as Ibn Khuzayma [as narrated by al-Harawi in Dhamm al-Kalām (4:377 §1245) and al-Dhahabi in his 'Ulūw (p. 500) cf. Mukhtaşar al-'Ulūw (p. 225)] or Sulayman ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb (cf. note 223) went to excess although their intention is ostensibly to preclude notions of indwelling. Al-Himyari said in Taṣḥīḥ al-Mafāhīm al-'Agdiyya (p. 52): "The few expressions used by the Sunni Ulema to describe Allah 🐝 but which did not come to us [in the Qur'an and Sunna] as such, are not actually Attributes of the Essence but only a commentary (tafsīr) for those Divinely ordained Attributes." Allāh knows best. [T]

above the Throne, His knowledge is in every place, He descends to the nearest heaven, He gets angry and pleased, and He speaks to say whatever He wishes.

Al-Dhahabī comments: "What he narrated from them is well-known except the expression in person," which is from his own bag. He attributed it to them in meaning [as opposed to literally] so that it will differentiate between the Throne and all other places." ²²⁶

3. The Tābi'ī Imām Abū Ḥanīfa said - Allāh have mercy on him:

No one should utter, concerning Allāh Most High, anything of his own. Rather, one should describe Him only how He described Himself. One should not say anything about Allāh of his own mind. Allāh be blessed, the Lord of the worlds!²²⁷

As for Ibn Khuzayma who gathered the verses of the Attributes, each Attribute in a separate chapter – no one of the Predecessors preceded him in this – he piled up in his book, *al-Tawḥīd*, inauthentic and unspeakable ḥadīths, then said:

Whoever does not definitely confirm that Allāh is established over His Throne above His seven heavens, separate $(b\bar{a}in)$ from His creation, he is a disbeliever who must be summoned to repent, otherwise his head is cut off and he must be dumped on a garbage heap so that his stench will not disturb Muslims and non-Muslim citizens.²²⁸

²²⁶ Al-'Uluw (p. 180). See how al-Dhahabi describes him as "the hadith Master and Proof in the Religion" and wonder! [A] Cf. al-Dhahabi, Mukhtaṣar al-'Uluw (p. 266-267 §243).

²²⁷ Ibn Ṣā'id, al-I' tigād. [A]

²²⁸ Narrated by al-Harawi in *Dhamm al-Kalām* (4:377 \$1245) and al-Dhahabi in his '*Ulūw* (p. 500) cf. *Mukhtaṣar al-'Ulūw* (p. 225-226) with a sound chain from al-Ḥākim, from Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Hāni', from Ibn Khuzayma. Ḥasan al-Saqqāf pompously

See al-Dhahabī's 'Uluw²²⁹ – without the least comment nor condemnation, although al-Dhahabī did determine that the expressions "with His Essence" (bi-dhātih) and "separate" (bā'in) were never transmitted anywhere in the Book nor the Sunna, nor did any Companion nor Successor ever utter them! It is astonishing that someone who does not believe in that innovation which suggests likeness between Allāh and His creatures should be guilty of apostasy and not be washed nor shrouded nor prayed upon, nor even buried, but thrown into a garbage dump. Wonder of wonders, when real harm is caused only if one is left in such fashion, not when he is buried!

Abū Ismāʿīl al-Harawī the author of *Manāzil al-Sāʾirīn* who suggested union with the Divine – our refuge is in Allāh! – said:

I heard Yaḥyā ibn 'Ammār the admonisher reply, when I asked him about Ibn Ḥibbān, "We expelled him from Sijistān. He was very learned but had little religion. He came to us denying Allāh had a limit, so we expelled him!"

The hadīth Master al-Dhahabī commented:

Your condemnation of him is an innovation and delving into this topic is among the things for which Allāh Most High gave no permission. Nor was any text transmitted to that effect whether for or against, and part of the excellence of one's Islām is to leave what does not concern him. Exalted is

claimed, "Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Hāni' is of unknown status for us (majhūl 'indanā) so this chain is unestablished" but al-Ḥākim himself declared him "trustworthy and trusted" thiqa ma'mūn cf. Ibn Ḥajar, Lisān (5:239) while Ibn Kathīr in his Bidāya (11:225) said thiqa zāhid. See also Ibn al-Subkī, Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi iyya al-Kubrā (3:174) and al-Ghazzālī's condemnation of the compilation of the names of all the Divine Attributes in one place in Iljām al-'Awāmm (p. 239-240). [T]

Allāh beyond being ascribed a limit or being described except in the way He described Himself or taught His Messengers, according to the meaning He wants, without similitude nor modality – {There is nothing whatsoever like Him, and He is the All-Hearing, the All-Seeing} (42:11)!²³⁰

The ḥadīth Master Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ibn Khalīl Kīkaldī al-'Alā'ī said, "Wonder of wonders! By Allāh! Who is more deserving of being expelled and declared a Godless innovator?" [...].

4. Imām al-Ṭaḥāwī said in Bayān al-Sunnati wal-Jamā'a:

Exalted is Allāh beyond having limits ($hud\bar{u}d$) placed on Him, or having boundaries ($gh\bar{a}y\bar{a}t$), or having parts ($ark\bar{a}n$), limbs ($a'd\bar{a}'$) or organs ($adaw\bar{a}t$), nor is He contained by the six directions ($jih\bar{a}t$) as all created things are.

The meaning of limit (al-hadd) is the end (nihāya) of something and masses or bodies (al-ajrām) all have limits. The Throne is not an infinitely stretching mass. Similarly, the Footstool, Paradise, Hellfire, the heavens and the earths all have surfaces. However, we human beings do not know what the surface of the Throne is, nor that of the Footstool, nor that of the seven heavens, nor that of Paradise, nor that of Gehenna. Nor does the preclusion of limit for Allāh Most High mean that He is infinitely extended, so let one beware of such an illusion! "Boundaries" signifies where something ends. "Parts" means sides, of which Allāh Most High is exempt because whatever possesses parts is necessarily

²³⁰ Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā' (Risāla ed. 16:97) cf. notes 209 and 422.[T]

²³¹ Ibn al-Subkī, *Tabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-Kubrā* (2:141-142). [A] Also narrated in al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz* (3:921), *Siyar* (Risāla ed. 16:96), and *Mīzān* (6:99); Ibn al-Subkī, *Tabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-Kubrā* (Ḥijr ed. 3:132-133) cf. his stand-alone *Qāʿida fīl-Jarḥ wal-Taʿdīl* (p. 31-33) [in *Tabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-Kubrā* (3:13)]; and Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān* (5:113). [T]

limited. "Limbs" means that He is exalted beyond possessing any limb since a human being and everything endowed with a soul possesses limbs. "Organs" are small body parts such as the tongue and teeth. Some explained the "organs" to mean the instruments which human beings use as aids in accomplishing their acts, such as building and carpentry tools. This is because it can be gathered from the discourse of the People of Truth that Allāh Most High does whatever He wishes "without process" ('ilāj). What they mean by the latter expression is that He does not need the application of movements, pauses, and implements, but rather creates whatever He wishes without any of that. Whoever He wished, in pre-eternity, to bring into existence, He does so and fashions him with His pre-existent power. "The six directions" means that the six directions do not encompass Allah Most High in the way they encompass all creatures, because the latter necessarily fall within dimensionality (tahayyuz) in one of the directions and whatever has a beginning must necessarily exist in a place.232

The erudite Proof of the Religion, Imām al-Kawtharī – Allāh have mercy on him – said:

The word "direction" (al-jiha) was never mentioned in any hadīth whatsoever. Even the Ḥanbalī Abū Yaʻlā said in al-Muʻtamad fīl-Muʻtaqad: "Limit is impermissible for Him – Exalted is He! – as well as boundaries, 'before,' 'after,' 'under,' 'in front of,' 'behind,' because these are attributes which the Law never transmitted and they are attributes that necessitate place." ²³³

 ²³³ See Izhār al-'Aqīdat al-Sunniyya Sharḥ al-'Aqīdat al-Ţaḥāwiyya (p. 129-130). [A]
 233 Maqālāt al-Kawtharī (p. 102). [A]

[Maḥmūd Muḥammad Khaṭṭāb al-Subkī said:]

Whoever attributes direction to Allāh Most High is heedless of the "judicative" (muḥkam) verse that states {There is nothing whatsoever like Him} (42:11) and turns a blind eye to transcendence (tanzīh) which is the core of Muslim belief and which stipulates that Allāh Most High existed before the universe was fashioned and before its ensuing directions existed – therefore these directions were created simultaneously with the creation of the universe.²³⁴

'Alī was asked – Allāh be well-pleased with him – "Where was Allāh before He created the heavens and the earth?" He replied, "'Where' is a question about place and Allāh existed when there was no place and He is today as He ever was." ²³⁵

Imām al-Qurṭubī said in his commentary on the saying of Allāh Most High, {Have you taken security from Him Who is in the heaven} (67:16):

What is meant by the above-mentioned verse is the reverence and transcendence of Allāh Most High beyond [the

²³⁴ See Ibn Jahbal's text below (§ 24 p. 164). [T]

²³⁵ Itḥāf al-Kā'ināt bi-Bayān Madhhab al-Salaf wal-Khalaf fīl-Mutashābihāt wa-Radd Shubhat al-Mulhida wal-Mujassima wa-Mā ya taqidūnahu min al-Muftarayāt (p. 15) by the defender of the Sunna and slayer of bid'a Maḥmūd Muḥammad Khaṭṭāb al-Subkī. [A] This is cited from [1] 'Alī & by 'Abd al-Qāḥir al-Baghdādī in al-Farq bayn al-Firaq (p. 321=p.256); [2] Ibn Kullāb by al-Ash'arī in Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn (p. 298); [3] al-Māturīdī in al-Tawhīd (p. 69, 75, 105-106); [4] al-Ash'arī himself by Ibn 'Asākir in the Tabyīn (Saqqā ed. p. 150); [5] Ibn Fūrak as per al-Qushayrī in his Risāla (beginning, "Doctrine of the Sufis"); [6] Ibn al-Bāqillānī in al-Inṣāf (p. 37) cf. also his Tamhīd al-Awā'il (p. 300); [7] al-Qushayrī himself in al-Mi'rāj (p. 70); [8] Ibn al-Juwaynī in the entries devoted to him in Tabaqāt al-Shāfī' iyya al-Kubrā, Tabyīn Kadhib al-Muftarī, and Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'; [9] Abū Isḥāq al-Shīrāzī in al-Ishāra ilā Madhhab Ahl al-Ḥaqq (p. 236); [10] Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh in his Ḥikam (§34); [11] Ibn 'Abd al-Salām in al-Mulḥa; [12] Badr al-Dīn Ibn Jamā'a in Īḍāḥ al-Dalīl (p. 104); [13] Ibn Jahbal himself; etc. See also our article, "Allāh is Now as He Ever Was" in our Sunna Notes. [T]

descriptives of] lowliness and belowness (al-sufl wal-taht) and [the affirmation of] His description with loftiness and magnificence (al-'uluw wal-'azama) – not places nor directions nor limits, as these are the attributes of bodies and because He created places and is in no way in need of them. Rather, He exists from His pre-eternity before the creation of place and time, as there was no place nor time, and He is now as He ever was.²³⁶

Al-Kamāl ibn al-Humām said - Allāh have mercy upon him:

The seventh principle is that Allāh Most High is not in a specific direction because directions were created simultaneously with the creation of human beings and their like of two-legged creatures. For the meaning of "above" is the layer next to one's head while the rest is below. As for four-legged creatures or those that crawl on their bellies, the meaning of "above" is the layer next to their backs. Even so, this is a relative matter because if an ant is walking on the ceiling then "above" in relation to it is the direction of the earth because that is the layer next to its back. If every single creature were round, none of those directions would exist. Allāh Most High existed from pre-eternity and there was nothing of all creation, therefore He exists without direction. 237

 ²³⁶ Tafsīr al-Qurṭubī (18:216). [A]
 ²³⁷ Al-Musāyara (p. 29). [A]

﴿ سُبْحٰنَ رَبِّكَ رَبِّ الْعِزَّةِ عَمَّا يَصِفُونَ ﴾

{Glorified be thy Lord, the Lord of Majesty, from that which they attribute unto Him!} (37:180)



IBN JAHBAL AL-KILĀBĪ

The Refutation of Him [Ibn Taymiyya] Who Attributes Direction to Allāh 🐉

AL-RADDU 'ALĀ MAN QĀLA BIL-JIHA

Numbers in square brackets refer to the pages in the edition of Ibn Jahbal's Arabic text in *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-Kubrā*.

Paragraph Numbers in the outer margins have been added for cross-referencing purposes.

Section titles were added for clarity.

إسناد هذا الكتاب

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله والصلاة والسلام على رسول الله وآله وصحبه ومن والاه «سبحانك اللهم لا علم لنا إلا ما علمتنا إنك أنت العليم الحكيم »

قال (اللاشيء) جبريل بن فؤاد الصالحي الشافعي: أروي هذه الرسالة الجليلة ضمن روايتي المسلسلة بالسادة الشافعية الدمشقيين لكتاب طبقات الشافعية الكبرى إجازة عن الشيخ المسنِد أبي الجود محمد تيسير بن توفيق المخزومي (ولد ١٣٣١)، عن شيخ القراء العلّامة محمد سليم بن أحمد الحلواني (ت ١٣٦٣)، عن العلّامة شيخ الشام سليم العطّار (ت ١٣٠٧)، قال: أخبرنا محدث الشام عبد الرحمن الكزبري الحفيد، عن الحافظ الزبيدي والسيد أحمد العطّار ومحمد الكزبري الشهير بالأوسط، جميعهم عن الشهاب المنيني، زاد الكزبري الأوسط: ووالدي – أي عبد الرحمن الجد – كلاهما عن أبي المواهب محمد بن عبد الباقي الحنبلي، عن أيوب الخلوتي العَدوي، عن المعمّر إبراهيم الأحدب، عن الشهاب المنبي، عن السيوطي، عن قاضي القضاة عز الدين أحمد بن إبراهيم ابن حجر الهيتمي، عن السيوطي، عن قاضي القضاة عز الدين أحمد بن إبراهيم ابن حجر الهيتمي، عن السيوطي، عن قاضي القضاة عز الدين أحمد بن إبراهيم ابن حجر الهيتمي، عن السيوطي، عن قاضي القضاة عز الدين أحمد بن إبراهيم ابن حجر الهيتمي، عن السيوطي، عن قاضي القضاة عز الدين أحمد بن إبراهيم المنابع بي المنابع بي المنابع بي المنابع بي قاضي القضاة عز الدين أحمد بن إبراهيم المنابع بي الم

الحنبلي والجلال أبي الفضل عبد الرحمن بن أحمد القُمُصي، كلاهما عن الجمال عبد الله بن علي بن محمد الكِناني، عن مؤلف الكتاب – كما في (فَهْرَس الفهارس) للكتاني و(أسانيد الهيتمي) للفاداني.

وهو الحافظ، قاضي القضاة، شيخ الإسلام، تاج الدين عبد الوهاب بن الإمام، حافظ عصره، قاضي القضاة، شيخ الإسلام، تقي الدين علي بن عبد الكافي السبكي الخزرجي الأنصاري، المعروف بابن السبكي، قال في كتابه طبقات الشافعية الكبرى في ترجمته للإمام ابن جهبل الكِلابي: «وقفتُ له على تصنيف صنّفه في نفي الجهة ردّاً على ابن تيمية لا بأس به وهو هذا.» ثم ساق المتن بكامله. رحمهم الله تعالى ونفعنا بهم، آمين.

CHAIN OF TRANSMISSION FOR THIS BOOK

y the grace of Allah I narrate this treatise as part of my all-Damascene Shāfi'ī-chained narration of Tabaqāt al-Shāfi 'yya al-Kubrā by permission from the specialist of transmission Shaykh Abū al-Jūd Muḥammad Taysīr ibn Tawfiq al-Makhzūmī (b. 1331), from the foremost master of canonical readings Shaykh Muḥammad Salīm ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥalwānī (d. 1363), from the Shaykh of Shām Salīm al-ʿAṭṭār (d. 1307) who said: The Ḥadīth Scholar of Shām 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kuzbarī al-Dimashqī the Grandson reported to us: from the Hāfiz Sayyid Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Sayyid Aḥmad al-ʿAṭṭār, and Muḥammad al-Kuzbarī the Middle, all three from al-Shihāb al-Manīnī, al-Kuzbarī adding: and from my father, i.e. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Kuzbarī the Grandfather, both of them from Abū al-Mawāhib Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Ḥanbalī, from Ayyūb al-Khalwatī al-'Adawī, from the aged Ibrāhīm al-Aḥdab, from al-Shihāb Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, from al-Suyūṭī, from Qāḍī al-Qudāt 'Izz al-Dīn Ahmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Hanbalī and al-Jalāl al-Qumuṣī, both of them from al-Jamāl 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Kinānī, from the author of the book, all of the above per al-Kattānī's Fahras al-Fahāris and al-Fādānī's Asānīd al-Haytamī.

The author of the book is the Ḥāfiz, Shaykh al-Islām Tāj al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn al-Imām Ḥāfiz, 'Aṣrih Shaykh al-Islām Taqī al-Dīn 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Kāfī al-Subkī al-Khazrajī al-Anṣārī known as Ibn al-Subkī, who said in his book Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya al-Kubrā in the biographical notice on Imām Ibn Jahbal al-Kilābī: "I saw a work he authored against the attribution of direction to Allāh, in refutation of Ibn Taymiyya, and it is not bad. Here it is." Then he cited the text in full. Allāh have mercy on them and benefit us with them. Āmīn.

[Ibn al-Subkī's narration of Ibn Jahbal's text in *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi' iyya al-Kubrā* (9:35)²³⁸]

All Praise to Allāh, All-Beneficent, Most Merciful.
All Praise to Allāh Almighty, the sovereign Lord of Power and Dominion, the Self-Sufficient Who stands in need of nothing, and in need of Whom stand all things. Nothing that exists depends on anything other than Him alone. He sent forth Muḥammad with the pristine path and the resplendent Faith, whereupon he produced the clearest proofs and illumined the path of wayfarers. He described his Lord with the Attributes of majesty and negated from Him all that does not befit magnificence and perfection. Exalted is Allāh Most Great and Most High far beyond the claims of the transgressors! The Throne does not carry Him – nay, both the Throne and Throne-bearers are themselves carried by the subtlety of His Power and subdued in His Grip.²³⁹ He encompasses all things with His knowledge.

²³⁹ This entire sentence is a quotation from al-Ash'ari's *Ibāna* (Maḥmūd ed. 2:21 = Şabbāgh ed. p. 35) cf. note 371.

²³⁸ From the text cited in full by Ibn al-Subkî in Ibn Jahbal's entry in the 1992 Dār Hijr edition of the *Tabaqāt al-Shāfi' iyya al-Kubrā* (9:35-91). I did not see Ta Ha al-Dusūqī Ḥubayshī's al-Ḥaqā'iq al-Jaliyya fīl-Radd 'alā Ibn Taymiyya fī-Mā Awradahu fīl-Fatwā al-Ḥamawiyya lī-Ibni Jahbal, which contains another edition of the treatise.

He well knows the number of all things in creation and is aware of the deep recesses of consciences and the movements of innermost thoughts. Glory to Him! How great is the matter upon which He stands, how tremendous is His Dominion! {All that are in the heavens and the earth entreat Him} because of their need for Him; {every day He exercises universal power} (55:29) for He is omnipotent. Blessings and peace upon our master Muḥammad, the Seal of His Prophets and Bearer of His News, and upon his Family and Companions!

- 3 Before turning to the above, I begin with an explanatory introduction on the subject at hand.

²⁴⁰ Ibn Taymiyya and his Fatwā Ḥamawiyya remain unnamed throughout the entire text.

The Ḥashwiyya or Vulgar Anthropomorphists

The doctrine of the Ḥashwiyya that consists in asserting a direction for Allāh is a corrupt and unacceptable doctrine. The falsehood of this doctrine is obvious if one only tries to imagine it. Consequently the Imāms have said that, were it not for the seduction of the uneducated public by the Ḥashwiyya, they would not have thought to address the latter [heresy] nor used a single drop of ink to refute them.

The Ḥashwiyya are of two types. ²⁴¹ The first make no pretense of hiding their gross anthropomorphism; {And they fancy that they have some standing – Lo! is it not they who are the liars?} (58:18). The second type cloak themselves in the school of the Salaf, hoping thereby to gain something from ill-gotten property – if only scraps – to take with them. For this vain purpose they marshalled the common people and the ignorant, the rabble and the rifraff. For they know well that Iblīs toils for nothing other than the defeat of the Community of Muḥammad . Hence, the hearts of the common people do not concur on other than innovation and misguidance, by which Iblīs destroys the Religion and corrupts the certitude of faith. History shows that Iblīs – Allāh curse him! – was unable to marshall other than the likes of

²⁴¹ The author built on Imām Ibn 'Abd al-Salām's prefatory words in *al-Mulha fī l' tiqād Ahl al-Ḥaqq*, a refutation of the anthropomorphist Ḥanbalīs of Syria in his time. See our full published translation entitled *The Belief of the People of Truth*.

the Khawārij, or the Rāfiḍa, ²⁴² or the atheists, or the Qarāmiṭa. ²⁴³ As for *Ahl al-Sunna wal-Jamā* 'a, they never concurred on other than the manifest Book of Allāh and His strong Rope.

Among the second type of the Ḥashwiyya are those who lie about the First and Foremost among the Emigrants and Helpers. They claim that the latter say the same as what they, the Ḥashwiyya, say. But even if they spent the earth's weight in gold, they would never be able to pass off one word as having been said by the Companions to justify their claims! This group cloaked themselves with the Salaf to preserve their reputation of leadership and retain the scraps they have fetched for themselves. {[They] desire that they should have security from you, and security from their own folk} (4:91). Their kind clothe themselves with self-display and over-ascetic manners. Dung they deem gilded with silver, and latrines as white palaces. They make others renounce pearls in order to procure mustard-seeds.

They make a show of piety before people While going around looking for cash. ²⁴⁵

7 The school of the *Salaf* is none other than the assertion of Divine Oneness and Transcendence as opposed to asserting a body or likeness for Allāh ... The innovators claim that they follow the school of the *Salaf*, [37]

Each one proclaiming his kinship to Layla But Layla does not confirm it for any of them. ²⁴⁶

²⁴³ A sect of frank anthropomorphists.

²⁴⁵ Mahmūd al-Warrāq (d. ~230) cf. al-'Iqd al-Farīd (3:216) and al-Kashkūl (2:216).

246 Dīwān al-Sabāba 3.

²⁴² The Shīʻis who insult the Companions.

See §§39, 110, 130 (p. 173, 207, 213) etc. The expression "the First and Foremost" denotes those who prayed towards both qiblas cf. Ibn Qutayba, Ma`arif (p. 318).

For how can anyone believe that the Salaf subscribe to tashbīh, or even sat quietly when the innovators appeared? [How could they do this] after Allāh said: {Confound not truth with falsehood, nor knowingly conceal the truth} (2:42); and {(Remember) when Allāh laid a charge on those who had received the scripture: You are to expound it to mankind and not hide it} (3:187); and {That you may explain to mankind what has been revealed for them} (16:44)?

The Companions did not probe any of these things because they knew that the welfare of the masses of the people was the most important thing. Yet the swords of their proofs were honed and their spears well-whetted. When the Seceders (Khawārij) emerged, the two erudite doctors of the Community and cousins of the Prophet pounced on them – 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās ! As a result of the debate that ensued, some of the Khawārij were persuaded by the truth, while the rest remained obdurate and the sword fell on their heads.

The law of the sword must be carried out on you. We shall be pleased only when the sword is pleased!

Similarly, when the heresy of absolute free will (Qadariyya) emerged in the person of Ma'bad al-Juhanī, Allāh dispatched for him the ascetic of the Community, [38] the son of him who distinguished truth from falsehood – Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb ...

²⁴⁷ Ma'bad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Uwaymir al-Juhanī al-Baṣrī (d. 80) is one of the Successors, considered by some of the Imāms of ḥadīth to be "truthful in himself" (ṣadūq fī nafsih) although an innovator. Ibn Mājah narrates through him the ḥadīth of the Prophet : "Do not indulge in mutual praise for it is nothing short of butchery." [Narrated from Mu'āwiya with a fair (hasan) chain as stated by al-Ṣindī.] He was the first to speak of absolute free will in the time of the Companions, a doctrine that became the mainstay of the Qadariyya and was adopted by the Mu'tazila. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī forbade people from sitting with him and called him "astray and leading others astray" (dāll mudill). He was killed by al-Ḥajjāj. Mīzān (4:141); Siyar (5:192-194 §443).

If these two innovations had not emerged, the Companions II would never have spoken out to refute the latter or repress the former. Their habit was but to exhort people to Godwariness and good deeds. That is why there is no report that the Prophet # - nor the Companions - ever gathered people together²⁴⁸ and then ordered them to believe such and such about Allah Almighty, although this kind of meeting took place for many other matters. He only touched upon it in a way which the elect understood and which the common people did not disavow.

And I swear by Allah w upon my conscience, not only once but a million times, that the master of Prophets & never said: "O people, believe that Allah is in the upward direction"! Nor did the Rightly-Guided Caliphs say that, nor any of the Companions.²⁴⁹ Rather, they left people alone after ordering them in the matters of worship and legal rulings. When the innovations appeared, the Salaf subdued them. As for inquisition into people's beliefs and activism for the sake of exposing these beliefs and enacting reprisals on their basis – this they never did.²⁵⁰ They only put an end to innovations upon their appearance.

The Hashwiyya, whenever they engage their opponents on matters of the foundations of belief, use rational arguments and bring up transmitted proofs in their own way. However, when they come to questions of gross anthropomorphism, they become stupefied and distressed. You realize at that time that they

²⁴⁹ A reference to Ibn Taymiyya's claim that such a belief is not an innovation, which the author refutes in the present work.

12

²⁴⁸ Ibn Taymiyya had gathered people together and given the *fatwā* on direction from the

²⁵⁰ A reference to the habit of Hanbali anthropomorphists and their modern epigones of charging the Sunni Scholars with wrong beliefs as took place with al-Junayd, al-Bukhārī, Ibn Hibban, Ibn Fürak, Abu Naşr al-Qushayrı, Ibn 'Abd al-Salam and, in our time, al-Nawawi, Ibn Hajar, and Abū Hanīfa!

understand neither Arabic nor other than Arabic.²⁵¹ By Allāh, they do not! By Allāh, if they understood, they would have surely fallen in love [with the truth] (law fahimū lahāmū). Instead, they embarked on the sea of their vain passions and went sailing on it. They indoctrinated every feeble-minded simpleton they found. In so doing they contravened the way of the Salaf, who refrained from broaching such topics with the common people.

Whenever al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī spoke on the science of tawḥīd, he would begin by taking out of his gathering all those that were not fit to hear. May Allāh have mercy on the Salaf! They did not speak about doctrine except with the Ahl al-Sunna among them – for the Sunna is the basis of the verifying authorities – and they withheld any such discourse from newcomers. They said: Newcomers [39] see things for the first time and are barely starting on their way; they have no prior experience and no firm foothold in these matters – even if they are seventy years old.

Sahl [al-Tustarī] said: "Do not acquaint newcomers with the secrets before they become firmly settled in their belief that God is One and that the object of monotheism is Unique, Everlasting, and transcends modality and place. Thoughts cannot encompass Him nor can hearts conceive of Him in terms of 'how.'" 252

In addition, this sect [the Ḥashwiyya] does not rest from testing people's belief until they assert direction for Allāh . It is as if they never heard of the sound ḥadīth of Prophet : "I was ordered to fight people until they say lā ilāha illallāh." Are they

²⁵¹ Hence the superiority of Sunni debators trained in language and logic over Wahhābīs the world over, especially in non-Arab lands where those sciences are stronger such as in South and Southeast Asia.

²⁵² On the foremost Imām of the *Tābi'īn* al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110) and the early Sufi master al-Tustarī (d. 283) see our *Four Imāms and Their Schools*.

²⁵³ A mass-narrated (*mutawātir*) hadīth of the Prophet an arrated by al-Bukhārī, Muslim, and others from nineteen Companions as stated by al-Kattānī in *Nazm al-Mutanāthir*.

not satisfied with what satisfied their Prophet ? 254 No, they want to order even the handicapped to plunge into a sea without shores, and to search for something for which the Prophet never ordered them to search, nor any of his Companions. Nor do they content themselves with what is less, namely, the report from their own Imām, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal who said:

<Allāh is not to be described other than in the terms with which He has described Himself, or in which the Messenger of Allah has described Him. We do not exceed the Our'an and the hadith. > We know that the terms with which Allah was described in these two sources are the truth, free of nonsense and mystery (lughz). The meaning of these terms is known from the way that the speaker's intent is known from his words. Together with this, { There is nothing whatsoever like Him (42:11) - whether in His sanctified Self which is mentioned in His Names and Attributes, or in His acts. It is necessary that Allah possesses an Essence in the real and literal sense (lahu dhātun haqīqiyyatun), He possesses acts in the real and literal sense and He possesses Attributes in the real and literal sense. 255 Yet {There is nothing whatsoever like Him} whether in His Essence, His Attributes, or His acts. Whatever entails imperfection (nags) or the quality of contingency (hudūth), Allāh transcends it in the real sense. He rightly

²⁵⁴ The Prophet # heard a call [to prayer] coming from a valley saying: "I bear witness that there is no God but Allāh and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allāh" whereupon he said: "And I bear witness to the same, and I bear witness that no one bears witness to the same except he clears himself of *shirk* (associating a partner to Allāh)." Aḥmad and al-Ṭabarānī in *al-Awsaṭ* relate it with a sound chain, as stated by al-Haythamī (1:59).

²⁵⁵ Aqāwīl al-Thiqāt has: "Just as it is known with certitude that Allāh possesses an Essence in the real and literal sense and possesses acts in the real and literal sense, similarly He possesses Attributes in the real and literal sense. Yet {There is nothing whatsoever like Him}, etc."

17

owns perfection above which there is no limit. And contingency is precluded from Him. [40] For nonexistence is precluded from Him, while contingency presupposes nonexistence as its prior attribute. Moreover, the contingent depends upon a Creator, whereas He necessarily exists in Himself 256

These are the words of their Imam. Would that they contented themselves with them! He has mentioned in this text the largest meanings with the most succinct expressions, brought up the proofs of the mutakallimun against this heretic (māriq) [Ibn Taymiyya] in the best and clearest terms, and never ordered what that sect [the Ḥashwiyya] orders.257

²⁵⁶ Ḥamawiyya (p. 271-272) = Majmūʻ al-Fatāwā (5:26-27) cf. al-Karmī, Agāwīl al-Thiqāt (p. 234) and Ibn Qudāma in Lam'at al-I'tigād (Ryadh ed. p. 9) and his Taḥrīm al-Nazar fi Kutub al-Kalām (p. 38), all citing Imam Ahmad but only the bracketed segment is verbatim from him while the rest is Ibn Taymiyya's very free paraphrase, which the author quoted.

²⁵⁷ Ibn Jahbal made a mistake as the above words are actually those of Ibn Taymiyya except for the bracketed first two phrases, even if their contents are actually a loose paraphrase of Ibn Qudāma's reports from Imām Aḥmad in Lam'at al-I'tiqād and Taḥrīm al-Nazar and al-Karmī's in Agāwīl al-Thigāt.

Mālik and al-Shāfiʿīʾs Understanding of *Tawḥīd*

18 Al-Shāfi'ī as said:

I asked Mālik about *tawḥīd* and he said: "It is absurd to think that the Prophet taught his Community hygiene but did not teach them *tawḥīd*. He said: 'I was ordered to fight people until they say *lā ilāha illallāh*.'"

Mālik showed thereby that what is required of people in tawhīd is the meaning illustrated by this hadīth. He never said that part of tawhīd is to believe that Allāh is in the upward direction.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁹ Similarly, Ahmad said in one of the narrations of his 'Aqīda: "The Believer from Ahl al-Sunna wal-Jamā' a is someone who bears witness that there is no god but Allāh alone without partner whatsoever, and that Muḥammad is His servant and Messenger."

Ibn Abī Ya'lā, Tabagāt al-Hanābila (1:293).

²⁵⁸ Narrated from al-Muzanī by al-Sulamī cf. Siyar (Risāla ed. 10:26). See note 253 on the hadīth. Similary, Abū Ḥanīfa ♣ said in the Fiqh al-Akbar: "The root of the affirmation of Divine unity and sound conviction is to say, 'I believe in Allāh, His angels, His Books, His Messengers, resurrection after death, the foreordainment of good and evil by Allāh Most High, the Reckoning, the Balance, paradise and hell, and that all these are real.'" And in the Waṣiyya: "The believer is truly a believer and the unbeliever is truly an unbeliever. […] People are in three classes: the believer sincere in his faith; the unbeliever upholding his unbelief; and the hypocrite dissembling his hypocrisy."

It is forbidden for minds to represent Allāh. ²⁶¹ It is forbidden for the imagination to conceive limits for Him. It is forbidden for speculation to presume anything about Him. It is forbidden for souls to think about His Essence. It is forbidden for consciences to deepen reflection about Him. It is forbidden for thoughts to grasp other than what He described Himself with, ²⁶² as conveyed by His Prophet . ²⁶³

²⁶⁰ Similarly, Aḥmad said: "Truly, we concede whatever those ḥadīths say even if we have no knowledge of their explanation (*fa-innā nusallim lahā wa-in lam naʿlam tafsīrahā*). We do not discuss them. We do not dispute about them. We do not explain them. Rather, we narrate them exactly the way they came to us, we believe in them, and we know that they are truth, just as the Messenger of Allāh # said." Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *op. cit.* (1:311).

²⁶¹ He also said: "I believe in what comes from Allāh in the meaning meant (*murād*) by Allāh and I believe in what comes from the Messenger of Allāh in the meaning meant by the Messenger of Allāh ﷺ." Cited by Ibn Qudāma in *Lamʿ at al-Iʿ tiqād* (Ryadh ed. p. 10 = Damascus ed. p. 9 = 'Uthaymīn ed. p. 36) and *Dhamm al-Taʾwīl* (1994 ed. p. 9 = 1981 ed. p. 11 and 1994 ed. p. 42 = 1986 ed. p. 44), al-Mawāhibī in *al-ʿAyn wal-Athar* (Damascus: al-Maʾmūn ed.) p. 62, and Ibn Taymiyya in *al-Risāla al-Madaniyya* (p. 121), *al-ʿ Aqīda al-Asfahāniyya* (p. 86), and *Majmūʿ al-Fatāwā* (4:2 and 6:354).

²⁶² Similarly, Ahmad said: "We believe and confirm the hadiths of the Attributes without 'how' and without meaning (wa-lā kayf wa-lā ma' nā)." Narrated from Hanbal ibn Ishāq through al-Khallāl by Ibn Qudāma in *Dhamm al-Ta'wīl* (p. 22) and *Lam' at al-I' tiqād* (p. 9) as well as Ibn Batta in *al-Ibāna* (3:58).

²⁶³ Narrated from al-Rabi' ibn Sulaymān by Ibn Qudāma in *Dhamm al-Ta'wīl* (p. 20-21 §34).

The Ash'arīs are Closer to the *Salaf*Than the Ḥashwiyya

Whoever investigates and searches carefully will find that the habit of the Companions, the Successors, and the early generations was to refrain from probing into these matters. They never mentioned them in gatherings, nor did they instill them into the general public, nor did they bring them up on the pulpits. They did not provoke misgivings in the hearts of people that would spread like wildfire. This is known of necessity from the accounts of their lives, and upon it we have built our doctrine and based our creed. If Allāh wills, our conformity with the Salaf will become apparent to the reader, as well as the straying of the objector from their path, even if he claims to follow them. In fact, he treads nothing other than the path of innovation.

[41] As for the claim that the Salaf did bring up these topics, and his rhetorical question that "the Prophet taught everything – even relieving oneself – but did not teach this important matter?": such a statement is a fake currency that does not pass muster with a trained money-changer. Does he not know that everyone needs to relieve himself, perhaps more than once a day? But what need do common people have to probe the Divine Attributes? All that they need to know about tawhīd is made clear in the hadīth "I was ordered to fight people until..."

Moreover, the above claim, by itself, destroys the claimant's edifice and brings down his foundations. For the Prophet sevidently taught about relieving oneself, but he did not teach people that Allāh Almighty was in the upward direction. As for what is narrated about the Throne and heaven concerning istiwā', the claimant has devised his construction and propped up the branches of his claim with the thesis that the Throne and heaven both signify one thing – the upward direction. Therefore, what this claimant said, the Prophet never taught, although he taught even how to relieve oneself. According to him, it follows that the common people must be taught about the upward direction, which the Prophet himself never taught!

As for us, we say that such a matter is not to be probed. One keeps silent about it just as the Prophet and his Companions did. Whatever was sufficient for them is sufficient for us. Consequently, none of us is found ordering common people in any way to probe the Divine Attributes. But those people [the Hashwiyya] have made it their habit to enter into the subject and order others to do likewise. I wonder which of us are the closest to the *Salaf*?

We now turn to state the doctrine of Ahl al-Sunna.

The Doctrine of Ahl al-Sunna

We say: Our doctrine is that Allāh is pre-eternal and pre-existent (qadīm azalī). He does not resemble anything nor does anything resemble Him. He has no direction nor place. He is not subject to time nor duration. Neither "where" (ayn) nor "at" (ḥayth) applies to Him. He shall be seen, but not as part of a face-to-face encounter, nor in the sense of a face-to-face encounter (yurā lā 'an muqābala wa-lā 'alā muqābala). 264

²⁶⁴ Al-Qārī said in Sharḥ al-Figh al-Akbar (p. 180): "One must not pay any attention to what the innovators imagine on rational bases, and the commentator of al-Taḥāwī's 'Aqīda [i.e. Ibn Abī al-'Izz in Sharh al-'Aqīda al-Tahāwiyya (p. 195)] committed a mistake in this regard when he said: 'Can any vision be rationally conceived without a faceto-face encounter? And in it there is a proof for His elevation ('uluw) over His creatures.' It seems that he applies the upward direction to his Lord, whereas the doctrine of Ahl al-Sunna wal-Jamā'a is that He - exalted is He - is not seen in any direction. The Prophet's saying: 'You shall see your Lord just as you see the moon on the night it is full' [Narrated from Abū Hurayra by al-Tirmidhī (hasan gharīb) and Abū Hanīfa in his Musnad and, in a slightly different wording, from Jarir ibn 'Abd Allah al-Bajali by al-Bukhari and Muslim] is a simile (tashbih) between two types of sightings generally speaking, not a simile between two objects of vision from all perspectives." Ibn Abī al-'Izz - purportedly a Ḥanafī - said in Sharh al-'Aqīda al-Tahāwiyya (p. 195): "Whoever claims that Allāh is seen without direction, let him verify his sanity!" Note the latter's casual dismissal of and deviation from - Imam al-Taḥāwi's position in the 'Agīda (§35: "The Seeing of Allāh by the People of the Garden is true, without their vision being all-encompassing and without the manner of their vision being known." §38: "He is beyond having limits placed on Him, or being restricted, or having parts or limbs. Nor is He contained by the six directions as all created things are") and Imam Abu Ḥanīfa's position in al-Waşiyya (p. 3-4): "The meeting (liqa") of Allah sw with the dwellers of Paradise is without modality nor simile nor direction" (Liqā' Allāh ta' ālā li-ahl al-janna bil-ru'yati al-başariyya bilā kayf wa-la tashbih wa-la jiha), cited by al-Qari in Sharh al-Figh al-Akbar (p. 176-177),

25

26

He was when there was no place, He created place and time, and He is now as He ever was. This is the *madhhab* of *Ahl al-Sunna* and the doctrine of the shaykhs of the [Sufi] Path – may Allāh be well-pleased with them.²⁶⁵ [42]

Al-Junayd said: "When does He Whom nothing and no one resembles nor compares to, ever join (yattaşilu) with one whom something resembles and to whom something compares?" 266

Yaḥyā ibn Muʿādh al-Rāzī was asked: "Tell us about Allāh Almighty." He replied, "He is One God." The questioner asked: "What is He like (kayfa hū)?" He replied: "The Owner Who is Mighty." The questioner asked: "Where is He?" He said: {[Lo! Your Lord is] in the lookout} (89:14). The questioner said: "I was not asking you about that." Al-Rāzī replied: "All else is an attribute of the created. As for His own attribute [of whereabout], I was not informed about it."

Imam al-Ḥaramayn said in al-Irshād (p. 167): "Among their [the Muʿtazila's] insinuations are claims that stem, in fact, from pure speculation, such as their saying: one who sees must be facing opposite what he sees, or virtually facing.' We say to them: Do you know for certain what you are claiming, or do you know it on speculative bases? If they claim that they know it for certain and accuse whoever disagrees with them of denial, their credibility collapses and their untruth becomes manifest. The same reasoning applies to the anthropomorphists [...]. And the Creator sees His creation without direction, therefore it is possible that He be seen without direction."

²⁶⁵ Cf. "Allah is Now as He Ever Was" in our Sunna Notes series.

²⁶⁶ Narrated by al-Qushayrī from al-Sulamī from Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Fārisī, from Ibrāhīm ibn Fātik, from al-Junayd. Al-Sulamī's Shaykh (for about thirty reports in *Tabaqāt al-Ṣūfiyya*) Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Fārisī Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm is unknown. "Ibrāhīm ibn Fātik ibn Sa'id al-Baghdādī was al-Ḥallāj's servant. He accompanied al-Nūrī and al-Junayd and the latter used to treat him with generosity." In Ḥallāj, *Tawāsīn* (p. 206). Ibn Taymiyya cites it in his *Istiqāma* (Madīna ed. 1:184) from al-Qushayrī without contesting its authenticity and approves it. Paragraphs §25-31 are from al-Qushayrī's *Risāla* (p. 42-45).

²⁶⁷ Also translated {Verily, Your Lord is ready at ambush}.

²⁶⁸ Narrated by al-Qushayrī from al-Sulamī from Abū al-Faraj 'Abd al-Wāhid ibn Bakr al-Warthānī (d. 372) from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Barda'ī from Tāhir ibn Ismā'īl al-Rāzī, from Yaḥyā. Abū Nu 'aym (1984 ed. 10:60) narrates it from Ibn Bakr with

- Similarly, Ibn Shāhīn asked al-Junayd about the meaning of "being-with" (ma'). He said: "Being-with has two meanings. The first is 'with the Prophets in terms of aid and protection.' Allāh said: {I am with you twain, hearing and seeing} (20:46). The second meaning is 'with the world in terms of knowledge and awareness.' Allāh said: {He is with them wheresoever they may be} (58:7)." Ibn Shāhīn said: "The likes of you point the Community toward Allāh."
 - Dhū al-Nūn was asked about the saying of Allāh: {The Merciful established Himself over the Throne} (20:5). He said: "He affirmed His Essence (dhāt) and negated His place. He is existent in His Essence, while all things are subjected to His wisdom just as He likes."

the same chain. Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā ibn Muʻādh al-Rāzī al-Naysabūrī (d. 258) is the Imām, preacher, and ḥadīth Master who said: "Son of man, your religion will remain in

tatters as long as your heart clings to love of the world."

²⁶⁹ Narrated by al-Qushayrī without chain. At the time al-Junayd was accused of heresy by the anthropomorphists of Baghdād, his student Abū al-Hasan al-Nūrī (d. 295) was asked by the chief judge in the presence of the Caliph, al-Mutawakkil: "Where is your Lord in relation to you?" He replied: "He is, in relation to me, wherever I am in relation to Him, since He said: {He is with you wheresoever you are} (57:4). That is: He is with us in whatever way we are with Him. If we are with Him with obedience, He is with us with help and guidance; if we are with Him with heedlessness, He is with us with His will; if we are with Him with disobedience, He is with us with His delay; if we are with Him with abandonment of His commands, He is with us with acceptance; if we are with Him with abandonment of His commands, He is with us with punishment." In Ibn ʿAjūba, Iqāz al-Himam (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-Thaqāfiyya) p. 397. Cf. also further below, \$71-72 (for a similarly figurative interpretation of nuzūl) and especially n. 335, 341, chapters 3-4 and notes. Ibn Shāhin is the trustworthy ḥadīth master Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿUthmān (d. 385) who, despite his imperfect Arabic and poor fiqh, authored 330 works in tafsīr, ḥadīth, history, and morals cf. al-Suyūtī, Tabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz (1:393).

²⁷⁰ Narrated by al-Qushayrī without chain. Abū al-Fayd Dhū al-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 245) the ascetic Imām of the Sufis in Egypt from whom Mālik and others narrated ḥadīth. Among

his sayings: "I never ate to satiation except I purported some sin."

29

30

Al-Shiblī was asked about the same verse and said: "The All-Merciful exists from pre-eternity while the Throne was brought into being, and the Throne was established and made firm (istawā) by the All-Merciful."

Ja'far ibn Nuṣayr said about that verse: "His knowledge applies equally (*istawā*) to all things, and nothing is closer to Him than something else." ²⁷²

271 Cited by al-Qushayri in his Risāla and by Ibn Farḥūn in al-Dībāj al-Mudhahhab (p. 116), both without chain while Ibn Taymiyya cites it in his Istiqāma (Madīna ed. 1:189) from al-Qushayrī but contests both its authenticity and content. Yet Abū Ḥanīfa in the Waşiyya ("Allah established Himself on the Throne without his having need for it and without settlement on it as He is the Preserver of the Throne and other than the Throne"), al-Ash 'arī in some versions of the Ibāna ("The Throne does not carry him, rather the Throne and its carriers are carried by the subtleness of His power"), and Shaykh Muhyī al-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī in his 'Aqīda (§143: "He established Himself over His Throne just as He said and in the meaning that He intended; the Throne itself and everything else was established through Him") all confirm al-Shiblī's words. See our article, "Allāh is Now as He Ever Was" in our Sunna Notes series. Abū Bakr Dulaf ibn Jahdar al-Shiblī al-Baghdādī al-Mālikī (d. 334) was one of al-Junayd's foremost students, a Sufi master, hadīth scholar, and jurist. Among his sayings: "I know one who did not enter into this matter until he spent all he owned, wore out seventy book-satchels with his handwritings, memorized al-Muwatta', and was able to recite in so many canonical readings" - meaning himself. When asked what the mark of the Knower of Allah was he replied: "His chest has been expanded, his heart wounded, and his body cast off."

Narrated by al-Qushayrī without chain while Ibn Taymiyya frantically inveighs against it in his Istiqāma (Madīna ed. 1:190): "This is more frivolous than the figurative interpretations of the esotericist Qarmatis, for the original wording [of the verse] does not contain anything that suggests such a meaning whatsoever! And Ja'far ibn Nusayr is nobler than to commit such a corruption of meaning (taḥrīf) the like of which does not come except from some of the extremists among the Rāfiḍīs, the Qarmaţīs, and the atheists who question the Qur'an!" Yet al-Ash'arī's Ibāna states: "He is above the Throne and the Heavens and above everything to the limits of the earth with an aboveness which does not bring Him nearer to the Throne and the Heavens, just as it does not make Him farther from the earth. Rather, He is Highly Exalted above the Throne and the Heavens just as He is Highly Exalted above the earth. Yet He is near to every entity and is nearer to [the worshipper] than his jugular vein and He witnesses everything." Abū Muḥammad Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn Nuṣayr al-Khuldī (d. 348) is the trustworthy Imam of hadith and taşawwuf who accompanied al-Junayd and authored books. Abū al-'Ala' 'Ābidīn said: "As for the Khalaf, when the innovations and heresies appeared they resigned the interpretation of those [verses and narrations of the Attributes] and allegorized them out of fear of disbelief. So they chose the innovation of ta'wīl, that is, free

Ja'far al-Ṣādiq said: "Whoever claims that Allāh is in (fī) something or from (min) something or on ('alā) something [43] has committed idolatry. For if He were in something, He would be surrounded (maḥṣūr); if He were on something, He would be carried; if He were from something, He would be brought into being."

rein in it (al-tawassu^c fīh) over the kufr of taking the words literally in a way that suggests anthropomorphism and likeness. So they said that 'istawā means istawlā' or that it means that 'the creation of the Throne and that of a mosquito are on a par (istawā)' to Him, or that 'His knowledge of the Thone and of everything else is on a par,' and that 'the Hand means the power' and 'the descent means the descent of mercy.' Whoever finds in himself the capacity to tread the way of the Salaf, let him do it, otherwise, let him follow the Khalaf and beware of destruction." Cited by al-Ghāwjī in his notes on Ibn Jamā'a's

İdah al-Dalil (p. 57).

²⁷³ Cited by Imām al-Qushayrī in the Risāla, Shaykh Aḥmad al-Rifā'ī's (512-578) in al-Burhān al-Mu'ayyad (p. 19), and al-Tilimsānī in Nafh al-Tīb (5:290), all without chain, while Ibn Taymiyya cites it in his Istiqāma (Madīna ed. 1:190) from al-Qushayrī without contesting its authenticity. Cf. [1] Abu Hanīfa's al-Fiqh al-Absat: "If someone says, 'Where is Allah?' The answer for him is that Allah existed when there was no 'where,' no creation, nothing! And He is the Creator of everything." [2] Al-Tabarī, Tafsīr (Sūrat 2:29): "He is high and elevated over the heaven with the height of sovereignty and power, not the height of displacement and movement to and fro." [3] Taḥāwiyya: "He is beyond having limits placed on Him, or having boundaries, or having parts, limbs, or organs; nor is He contained by the six directions as all created things are." [4] Qushayriyya: "Do you subject the Absolute to 'where'? (taṭlubu ma' a al-'ayni ayn?)" [5] Al-Bayhaqī, Manāqib al-Shāfi'ī (1:396-398): "The Prophet addressed the slave-girl [in the hadīth 'Where is Allāh?'] according to her ability and understanding. For she and the likes of her, before Islām, used to believe in idols as gods on earth. Accordingly, he wanted to know what she believed and asked her, 'Where is Allah?' Had she pointed to the idols, it would have been known that she was not a believer. When she said, 'in the heaven,' it became known that she had abandoned idols and that she was a believer in Allah {Who in the heaven is God, and in the earth God} (43:84) or he gestured, as she gestured, to the literal wording of what was mentioned in the Book." [6] Al-Nawawī after Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim (5:24-25): "Not that He is circumscribed in the heaven nor that He is circumscribed in the direction of the Ka'ba! Rather, this is because the heaven is the orientation (qibla) of those who supplicate, just as the Ka'ba is the orientation of those who worship." [7] Ibn Ḥajar, Fatḥ al-Bārī (1959 ed. 13:412): "Al-Kirmānī (d. 668) said: 'The literal meaning of "the one who is in the heaven" is not meant, for Allah is transcendent beyond indwelling a place. However, since the direction of elevation is nobler than any other direction, Allah predicated it to Himself to indicate the loftiness of His Essence and Attributes.' Others than al-Kirmani addressed in similar terms the expressions that

32

Muḥammad ibn Maḥbūb, Abū 'Uthmān al-Maghribī's servant, said: "Abū 'Uthmān said to me one day: 'Muḥammad! If someone asked you: Where is the One you worship, what would you answer?' I said: 'I would answer: He is where He never ceased to be.' He said: 'What if he asked: Where was He in pre-eternity?' I said: 'I would answer: Where He is now." That is: He was when there was no place, and He is now as He ever was. "Abū 'Uthman was pleased with my answer. He took off his shirt and gave it to me."274

came down concerning aboveness (fawqiyya)." [8] Al-Qārī, al-Mirqāt (orig. ed. 3:492): "When she said: 'in the heaven' - in another narration she made a sign toward the heaven - it was understood she was a believer in oneness. He meant by this line of questioning the disavowal of the gods of the earth (nafī al-āliha al-arḍiyya) which are the idols, not the establishment of the heaven as a location for Allah Most High!" [9] Ibn Rushd the grandson [Averroes], Faşl al-Maqāl (p. 52-53): "The reason behind it [the Prophet's command] pertains to that category of people to whom belief is inconceivable without visualization. They do not believe in the existence of a thing except if they can imagine it and it is difficult for them to believe in the existence of a thing that cannot be compared to something one can visualize. This [reasoning] also applies to those who cannot understand from such ascription [i.e. istiwa' and nuzul] other than a place (makān). They assault the first category incompetently for their denial of corporeality. This is why the proper answer for them is to tell them that such [verses and hadīths] are among the ambiguities (al-mutashābihāt)." See more below (notes 296, 326) and the discussion on aboveness in our article, "The Hadith of the Mountain Goats" in our Sunna Notes series. Abū 'Abd Allāh Ja'far al-Ṣādiq ibn Muhammad al-Bāqir ibn Zayn al-'Ābidīn ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Hāshimī al-Qurashī (80-148) is the Truthful Imām of the Tābi' în from whom narrated Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik, and others.

²⁷⁴ Narrated by al-Qushayrī from Ibn Fūrak, from Muḥammad ibn al-Maḥbūb. This and the following paragraph are from al-Qushayri's Risāla (p. 37-38). See also our article, "Allāh is Now as He Ever Was" in our Sunna Notes. Abū 'Uthmān al-Maghribī, also known as Ibn Sha'ban and Abu 'Uthman al-Qayrawani, Sa'id ibn Sallam al-Maghribi al-Mansūrī al-Qayrawānī al-Naysabūrī (d. 373), was one of the Sufi masters. Among his sayings: "Retreat (al-i'tikāf) is the guarding of limbs under the commands." "The sincere one's knowledge of his sincerity is invalid until he knows his self-display and parts with it, for one does not know something until he knows its opposite." "The Sufi is he who owns things by choice, and nothing owns him by force." "There is a time for the knower when the lights of 'ilm enlighten him so that he can see the wonders of the unseen." "The

hearts of the people of truth are present, and their hearings are open."

- The above are the words of the most eminent authorities in tawhīd and the Imāms of the massive majority of the Community, except for this misguided band. The books of our Imāms are replete with such statements and with their almost countless refutations of those evil insinuators. Our purpose is not to imitate them for this is forbidden in the foundations of belief. I mentioned their words only so that it will be understood that the doctrine of Ahl al-Sunna is what we showed above.

²⁷⁵ Narrated by al-Qushayrī from Ibn Fūrak, from Abū 'Uthmān al-Maghribī.

²⁷⁶ This never means one is free to formulate his or her own creed independently. What is meant is that each must have a firm personal conviction and belief in the generalities of transcendence concerning Allāh Most High and His Names and Attributes. As for the precise formulations of that doctrine, they remain outside the province of the commonality and are left to the authorities to whom Allāh Most High gave competence in the matter, such as al-Ash'arī, al-Māturīdī, and those Ibn Jahbal cited. Thus, insofar as formulation is concerned, it is not only permissible but obligatory to imitate them in order to preclude heterodoxy from oneself and others. On this the Ash'arīs and the Māturīdīs agree, contrary to the Mu'tazilīs who require knowledge of the (rational) proof for every article of faith, and not faith alone. This squarely contradicts the way of the Prophet honor who only required faith. Cf. Abū 'Adhaba (d. 1172), al-Rawaḍat al-Bahiyya fīmā bayn al-Ashā' ira wal-Māturīdiyya in Bassām 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Jābī, al-Masā'il al-Khilāfiyya bayn al-Ashā' ira wal-Māturīdiyya (Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2003) p. 102-106.

The Requisites of Transcendence (Wazā'if al-Taqdīs) 277

We continue by saying that whosoever hears the verses and reports that touch upon the Divine Attributes has the following duties: 35

- To uphold Divine Transcendence.
- To believe in what came from Allah se and from His Prophet in the sense that He meant and the sense that the Prophet se meant.
- To confirm and admit one's inability [to comprehend it].
- To keep silent and refrain from paraphrasing the original terms [of these verses and reports].
- To put an end to any mental reflection upon them.
- To hold firmly that whatever is hidden from one's understanding concerning them is not hidden from Allāh nor from His Prophet .

The elaboration of the above duties is forthcoming, if Allāh wills.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁷ Taken from al-Ghazzălî's Iljām al-'Awāmm. See Chapter Eleven: "Ethics of Tawhīd."
²⁷⁸ Cf. §225-245.

Would that I knew in what respect we [Ash'arīs] contravene the Salaf! Is it because we say: "He was when there was no place?" Or because we say: "Allāh created place"? Or because we say: "He is now as He ever was"? [44] Or because we say: "The Real is Transcendent beyond corporeality and anything remotely resembling it"? Or because we say: "It is obligatory to declare true whatever Allāh said and whatever the Prophet said, in the sense that Allāh meant and the sense that the Prophet meant"? Or because we say: "It is obligatory to admit incapacity to comprehend it"? Or because we say: "We must keep silent and not ask questions nor probe what we are incapable of knowing"? Or because we say: "It is obligatory for the tongue to refrain from modifying the letter of the texts, neither adding nor subtracting anything"?

Would that I knew in what respect they [the Ḥashwiyya] conform with the Salaf! Is it in their invitation to probe this subject and their insistence on delving into it in the company of gullible juveniles and uneducated mobs who cannot even wash their backsides correctly or fulfill the necessary pillars of ṣalāt? Or did they conform with the Salaf in the latter's upholding of Divine Transcendence and freedom from direction? Did they ever hear it said in the Book of Allāh, or related from the Salaf as an article of knowledge, that the latter described Allāh Most High as being in the upward direction (jihat al-'uluw)? Or that anyone that does not so describe Him is misguided and leading others astray, and is "an offshoot from the philosophers and the Hindus and the Greeks"? See how they invent lies about Allāh! That of itself is flagrant sin} (4:50).

²⁷⁹ The author is quoting Ibn Taymiyya's astonishing accusation, which he addresses further down cf. §44 and n. 378.

REFUTATION OF IBN TAYMIYYA'S CLAIMS

PRELIMINARIES

We now turn to destroy his arguments, after which we establish the proofs of the negation of direction and likeness for Allāh in relation to all his claims. In Allāh is our recourse!

First, he claimed that he says "what Allāh said, His Prophet and the First and Foremost (*al-sābiqūn al-awwalūn*) among the Emigrants and the Helpers."

This is not true in the least. As for the Book and the Sunna, we shall show that he contradicts them both. As for the First and Foremost among the Emigrants and the Helpers, his mention of them in this place is purely for show. Apart from that, he did not produce a single word of theirs, whether denying or confirming him. This can be known from what he says – unless what he means by "the First and Foremost among the Emigrants and Helpers" is the Shaykhs of his own doctrine at the exclusion of the Companions!²⁸¹

²⁸⁰ Fatwā Ḥamawiyya (p. 194-195) = Majmūʻ al-Fatāwā (5:5-6).

38

39

²⁸¹ "Ibn Taymiyya's habit is to take something he found one scholar saying and make it a universal rule of his own." Al-Kawtharī, *al-Ḥāwī fī Sīrat al-Imām Abī Ja' far al-Taḥāwī* (p. 28).

- [45] After this claim, he launched into praising the Prophet and his Religion, saying that his Companions are its most knowledgeable figures. The truth is as he said and more than what he said, for how can praise render justice to the Prophet's merits? Yet his words are, as the Commander of the Believers 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib said, "Words of truth spoken to support falsehood!" (kalimatu ḥaqq yurādu bihā bāṭil). 283
- After this he started reviling the Imāms of the Community and its leading scholars for admitting incapacity to comprehend Allāh Almighty.²⁸⁴
 - Yet, the Master of Messengers said: "I cannot sufficiently extol Your praise! Verily You are just as You have glorified Yourself." Similarly the Trusted and Truthful one [Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq] said: "Incapacity to attain comprehension is comprehension." So then this impostor has the audacity to claim complete knowledge in the matter. Now, the children of menstruating women can know the exact nature of Him Who is

²⁸² Ḥamawiyya (p. 195-202) = Majmūʻ al-Fatāwā (5:6-8).

²⁸³ Narrated from 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Abī Rāfi' by Muslim, al-Nasā'ī in al-Sunan al-Kubrā (5:160 §8562), Ibn Ḥibbān (15:387 §6939), and al-Bayhaqī in his Sunan (8:171); from Kathīr ibn Nimr by al-Tabarānī in al-Awsaṭ (7:376 §7771); from Kathīr ibn Nimr and 'Āṣim ibn Damra by al-Bayhaqī in his Sunan (8:184); from Kathīr ibn Nimr and Abū al-Bakhtarī by Ibn Abī Shayba (7:562 §37930-37931); from one of 'Alī's scribes, 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥunayn, by al-Maḥāmilī (d. 330) in his Amālī (p. 173 §144); from 'Awn ibn Abī Juḥayfa by al-Ṭabarī in his Tārīkh (3:113); and from Qatāda by 'Abd al-Razzāq in his Muṣannaf (10:150). Cited by al-Shāfi'ī in al-Umm (4:217), Ibn Ḥibbān in al-Thiqāt (2:295), al-Nawawī in Sharḥ Ṣahīḥ Muslim (7:173), Ibn Ḥajar in the Fath (12:284-288) and Talkhīṣ al-Ḥabīr (4:45), and Ibn Kathīr in the Bidāya (Year 37).

²⁸⁴ Ḥamawiyya (p. 204-213) = Majmū' al-Fatāwā (5:9-11).

Narrated from 'Aisha and 'Alī in the Nine Books except al-Bukhārī and Dārimī.

²⁸⁶ Attributed – without chain – to Abū Bakr al-Şiddīq by al-Sulamī in al-Muqaddima fīl-Taṣawwuf (p. 36) and subsequent Sufi sources such as 'Ayn al-Quḍāt al-Hamadhānī's Shakwā al-Gharīb, and Ibn 'Arabī and his commentators cf. also al-Suyūṭī's Sharḥ Sunan al-Nasāī (1:105 §169), al-Munāwi's Fayḍ al-Qadīr (6:181) under the hadīth man 'alima anna Allāha rabbuhu wa-annī nabiyyuh, and al-Qārī at the very beginning of his Risāla fī Radd Waḥdat al-Wujūd (p. 54), all without chain.

without beginning! There is no delusion nor ignorance greater than such a claim. We seek refuge in Allāh is from downfall!

After this he described the lineage of the doctrine of the massive majority of the Community of Muḥammad sa being an offshoot of the doctrines of the philosophers, the followers of the Greeks and the Hindus!²⁸⁷ {Their testimony will be recorded and they will be questioned!} (43:19).

Then he said: "The Book of Allāh from beginning to end, the Sunna of His Prophet from beginning to end, the totality of the words of the Companions and the Successors, and the words of the rest of the Imāms are replete either with explicit stipulations (naṣṣ) or literal expressions (zāhir) that Allāh is above everything (fawqa kulli shay') and on top of everything ('alā kulli shay'), and that He is above the Throne (fawq al-'arsh) and above the heaven (fawq al-samā')." In the course of this statement and again towards the end, he said: "He is literally (ḥaqīqatan) above the Throne." Elsewhere he attributed the same words to the Salaf. Elsewhere he attributed the same words

I would like to know where the terms he claims to relate from the Book of Allāh and the Sunna of His Messenger are found in the Book of Allāh? Is one word of his found anywhere in the Book of Allāh which would permit him to say: "There is an explicit statement to that effect"? For the explicit statement by definition bears no other possible interpretation whatsoever. Yet his

²⁸⁷ Ḥamawiyya (p. 213-215) = Majmūʻ al-Fatāwā (5:12). Cf. n. 378.

²⁸⁸ Ḥamawiyya (p. 216) = Majmū^c al-Fatāwā (5:12).

²⁸⁹ Hamawiyya (p. 232) = Majmū' al-Fatāwā (5:15). Abū Zahra said in Tārīkh al-Madhāhib al-Islāmiyya (p. 320-322): "The 'Salafīs' and Ibn Taymiyya assert that settledness takes place over the Throne [...]. Ibn Taymiyya strenuously asserts that Allāh descends and can be above (fawq) and below (taht) 'without how' [...]. and that the school of the Salaf is the literal affirmation of everything that the Qur'ān stated concerning aboveness (fawqiyya), belowness (tahtiyya), and establishment over the Throne."

purpose is precisely to effect such an interpretation. For he has redefined "explicit" to mean other than what is patent, by misrepresenting his own terms as constituting explicit texts. Now, which verse in the entire Book of Allāh forms an explicit text for his viewpoint?

The Fallacy of His "Proofs from the Quran" and the Ḥashwiyya's Self-Contradictions

The first proof he forwarded is the saying of Allāh : {Unto Him the good word ascends (yaṣʿadu)} (35:10).²⁹⁰ [46] Where in the verse, I ask, is the "explicit text" that says Allāh is in the heaven or on the Throne?

Moreover, the practical purpose of his using this verse for a proof is that it indicates the height ('uluw) implied by ascent (\$\su^*\tilde{u}d\$).\(^{291}\) How far off the mark! The dunce of scholasticism has tumbled in the mire. For how can ascension literally apply to words when the literal meaning of ascension can only be the attribute of bodies? Therefore, the sense of ascension here is none other than acceptance (al-qabūl), without an inkling of boundary or location.\(^{292}\)

²⁹⁰ Ḥamawiyya (p. 216) = Majmūʻ al-Fatāwā (5:12).

48

²⁹¹ "Allāh has made Himself exalted over the heaven ('alā 'alayhā) with the 'uluw of sovereignty (mulk) and authority (sulṭān), not movement (intiqāl) or displacement (zawāl)." Al-Tabarī, commentary on the verse: {Then turned He (thumma istawā) to the heaven} (2:29).

²⁹² See article "Unto Him the Good Word Ascends" in our Sunna Notes series.

Then he followed up with the saying of Allah :: {I am gathering 50 you and raising you (rāfi'uka) unto Me} (3:55).293 I do not know how he inferred the idea that Allah is above the Throne from this verse. Was this inference on the basis of sameness (muțābaga), or implication (tadammun), or logical necessity (iltizām)? Or is it something he obtained through miraculous unveiling (kashf) or inspiration in his innermost (al-nafthu fil $r\bar{u}$ ')? Perhaps he believes that elevation (al-raf') can only be in the upward direction? If this is what occurred to him then this, also, is inconceivable except in corporeal and dimensional terms. If he holds other than that, then his inference is not on a literal basis at all. If he actually asserts corporeality and dimensionality, then there is no need to point out his error. Perhaps he never heard of elevation being used in the sense of rank and the obtainment of status in the language of the Arabs and in common usage. Perhaps he never heard the phrase "Allah raised So-andso's state."294

²⁹³ Ḥamawiyya (p. 216) = Majmū' al-Fatāwā (5:12).

The commentaries indicate that the sense of {raising you unto Me} is: "raising you to My heaven." Cf. the Tafsīrs of al-Ṭabarī (ākhidhuka ilā mā 'indī... fa huwa 'indahu fīl-samā'), al-Qurtubī (rafa'ahu ilā al-samā'), al-Nasāfi ("raising you to My heaven and to the abode of My angels"), al-Bayḍāwī and Abū al-Su'ūd ("to the place of My munificence and the abode of My angels"). Al-Tha'ālibī said: "It denotes his being moved from low-liness to height (min suflin ilā 'uluw) but its ascription unto Allāh is an ascription of honor. In any case, it is categorically known that Allāh Most High is not circumscribed in any direction."

SI

52

Then he followed up with the saying of Allāh : {Have you taken security from Him Who is in the heaven that He will not cause the earth to swallow you} (67:16), restricting the meaning of "him" to Allāh alone. Perhaps he does not allow that its meaning is the angels of Allāh. Perhaps he denies that the angels do such things, and that Gibrīl caused the earth to swallow the people of Sodom. Consequently he used this verse for his proof, and it may be the "explicit text" he was referring to. 296

Then he followed up with the saying of Allāh: {The angels and the Spirit ascend (taʿruju) unto Him} (70:4). 297 Ascension (ʿurūj) and ascent (ṣuʿūd) are one and the same meaning. There is no proof in this verse that the ascension is to a heaven or to a throne or to any of the things which [47] he has claimed whatsoever. For the literal meaning of "ascension" used in the language of the Arabs refers to the displacement appropriate to material bodies (al-ajsām). The Arabs do not know any other meaning of the word. Would that he had openly declared the material sense and relieved himself from the trouble of covering it up!

²⁹⁵ Ḥamawiyya (p. 216-217) = Majmūʻ al-Fatāwā (5:12-13).

²⁹⁶ Al-Maḥallī in *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*: {From Him Who is in the heaven}: "From Him Whose authority and power are in the heaven." Al-Qurṭubī: "From the Creator of those who are in the heaven." Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr* (3:69): "It is the anthropomorphists who used this verse to claim that Allāh Himself is in the sky." Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī said the same thing in his *Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ* (8:302) and *Nahr al-Mādd* (2:1131-1132). Al-Nawawī in his commentary on *Saḥīḥ Muslim* agreed with al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ that the words "in the heaven" are interpreted figuratively. Al-Zamakhsharī: "From Him Whose sovereignty is in the Heaven." When "Whose sovereignty" is omitted the pronoun "Him" remains instead. There are many instances of this turn of speech in the Qurʾān: "And ask the town," that is: "And ask the people of the town"; "And your Lord came," that is: "And your Lord's order came" cf. "Interpreting Allāh's Words 'He Who is in the Heaven" in *Islamic Beliefs and Doctrine According to Ahl al-Sunna* (p. 144-148). See also above, n. 273 and below, \$78 and n. 326.

²⁹⁷ Ḥamawiyya (p. 217) = Majmūʻ al-Fatāwā (5:13).

- Then he followed up with the saying of Allāh: {*They fear their Lord from above them (min fawqihim)*} (16:50).²⁹⁸ This also fails to provide a proof for him pertaining to a heaven or a throne, least of all in literal terms.
- 54 Aboveness (fawqiyya) is used in two senses:
 - (a) As a relation between one material body and another, one being higher and the other lower, so that the bottom of the higher one is above the top of the lower one. This sense of aboveness is never invoked by non-anthropomorphists. If we suppose it applied without saying that Allah is a body then why would it not be possible to say that "above them" modifies "they fear"? The sense would then be: "They fear from above them their Lord." That is, they fear what comes from above them and whatever punishment may come from that direction.
 - (b) In the sense of rank (al-martaba) just as is it said: the caliph is above the sultan, and the sultan above the emir. It is also said: So-and-so sat above So-and-so; knowledge stands above deeds; the dyeing process is above the tanning process. This sense applies in the saying of Allāh: {And We have raised some of them above (fawqa) others in rank} (43:32), in which case they did not mount one another's shoulders. Again, in His saying: {We are in power over them (fawqa-hum)} (7:127), the Copts were not mounted atop the shoulders of the Israelites nor on their backs.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁸ Ḥamawiyya (p. 217) = Majmū al-Fatāwā (5:13).

²⁹⁹ "He is high and elevated over the heaven with the height ('uluw) of sovereignty and power." Al-Tabarī, commentary on the verse {*Then turned He (thumma istawā) to the heaven, and fashioned it as seven heavens*} (2:29). See also the discussion on aboveness in our article. "The Hadīth of the Mountain Goats" in *Sunna Notes*.

He followed up with the saying of Allāh : {The Merciful established Himself over the Throne} (20:5). This has been mentioned in six other passages of the Book of Allāh and forms the main and strongest basis on which the anthropomorphists stand. They even wrote it above the entrance of the mosque in Hamadhān. We now turn our efforts to clarifying the issue.

We say: [48] Either they set reason aside in every aspect of every case, ignoring what is called understanding (fahm) and comprehension (idrāk), which is quite acceptable if they merely say: {The Merciful established Himself over the Throne} (20:5). 302 But if they trespass this point and venture to say: "He is established over the Throne" (innahu mustawin 'alā al-'arsh), then fie upon them! For Allāh in never said it. Add to this that there is near agreement among the rhetoricians ('ulamā' al-bayān) that the verbal noun is more affirmative in meaning than the verb. 303 If the Ḥashwiyya say: "The verse indicates that He is above the Throne," then they have abandoned their own precondition [of not probing meanings] and indulged in contradiction, caprice, and impudence.

Should they say: "We do retain the role of reason and we do understand the meaning of the verse," we ask them: What is the meaning of *istiwā*' in the language of the Arabs? If they say: "Sitting (al-julūs) and settlement (al-istiqrār)," we reply: The Arabs do not know this meaning except in relation to bodies,

³⁰⁰ Hamawiyya (p. 217) = Majmūʻ al-Fatāwā (5:13).

³⁰¹ 7:54; 10:3; 13:52; 25:59; 32:4; 57:4.

In strict conformity with the rule of the Salaf, "its explanation is its recitation" without adding anything else.

³⁰³ E.g. the verbal noun *mustawin* is more affirmative than the verb *istawā*. However, the claim that Allāh si is *mustawin* is forbidden because His Names and Attributes are non-inferable. See our articles "The Divine Names are *Tawqīfiyya*: Ordained and Non-Inferable" and "*Istiwā*" a Divine Act" in our *Sunna Notes* series.

therefore go ahead and say: A body established itself on the Throne. If they reply: "It is a type of sitting and settledness that is attributed to the Essence of Allāh just like sitting is attributed to a body," then the Arabs do not know this meaning. Therefore, it cannot be the literal meaning.

58

The Arabs also understand *istiwā*' as the straightness of the arrow-shaft and the antonym of crookedness. The Ḥashwiyya invoke this meaning to exonerate themselves of the charge of attributing a body to Allāh. At the same time, they close the door to any explanation other than "sitting." Yet they do not close the door when it comes to the saying of Allāh: {And He is with you wheresoever you may be} (57:4) and {We are nearer to him than his jugular vein} (50:16). So you Ḥashwiyya should not say that Allāh is with us "with His knowledge." If you say that, then why do you allow this [interpretive method] one time and you forbid it the next? And how do you know that *istiwā*' is not one of His acts in connection with the Throne? If they say: "This is not in the language of the Arabs," then we reply: Neither is the meaning of *istawā* which you yourselves forward – unless we apply it to a body.³⁰⁴

59

Then the impostor tried hard to extricate himself from the snare of anthropomorphism by claiming that Allāh is is in a direction [49] but that He established Himself over the Throne "with a kind of establishment that befits His Majesty." We say to him: You have moved to our position concerning istiwā; but as for direction, it does not befit His majesty.

³⁰⁵ Hamawiyya (p. 274-275) = Majmūʻ al-Fatāwā (5:27-28).

³⁰⁴ Cf. Ibn al-Jawzī in *Daf' Shubah al-Tashbīh* (1998 al-Kawtharī repr. p. 23): "Whoever interprets {*and He is with you*} (57:4) as meaning 'He is with you in knowledge,' permits his opponent to interpret *istiwā*' as 'subduing' (*al-qahr*)."

61

Then he criticized the saying of the Scholars of *kalām* that if Allāh were in a certain direction, He would be either greater, smaller, or equal to something, all of which possibilities are absurd. He said: "They [the Scholars of *kalām*] did not grasp the meaning of {over the Throne} except as the meaning they assert for any material body over any other body whatsoever. What they cited as an inevitable consequence stems only from that understanding. But an *istiwā*' which befits His Majesty does not necessitate any such consequence." 306

We answer: Are you from Tamīm one day and from Qays another? If you assert an establishment which befits His Majesty, then this is the position of the *kalām* scholars. But if you are speaking of an establishment that consists in settledness and a specific direction as opposed to another direction, then that will not in any way help deliver you from what we already said [about its consequences being anthropomorphism], nor from the [Ash'arī] explanation of the establishment as "establishing dominion" (*istīlā*").

I bear witness before Allāh concerning this verse, that it never came down to us except to reveal Divine magnificence, power, dominion, and sovereignty! The Arabs use <code>istiwā</code> as a metonymy (<code>kināya</code>) for sovereignty (<code>mulk</code>), for they say: "So-and-so established himself on the royal throne," even if he never once sat on it, for they mean sovereignty thereby.

As for the saying of the Ḥashwiyya: "If you explain *istiwā*' as *istīlā*' then the specific mention of the Throne becomes irrelevant, for the establishment of His dominion is true over all things created, without restriction to the Throne," the answer

³⁰⁶ Ḥamawiyya (p. 274) = Majmūʻ al-Fatāwā (5:27).

³⁰⁷ These names denote two different sets of grammatical rules in Arabic.

³⁰⁸ Cf. words attributed to al-Ash'arī, Ḥamawiyya (p. 504-505) = Majmū' (5:96-97), but see Imām Aḥmad's explanation below (notes 342, 371).

to this is: Because the Throne encompasses all things created, it is precisely then that the establishment of dominion over it is the establishment of dominion over all of them. No other object possesses this quality. Moreover, the Arabs' use of it as a metonymy – as we just said – makes this the most probable explanation.

As for their objecting: "The meaning of 'establishing dominion' (istīlā') can only be over something which one defends from attack." We reply: The meaning of 'sitting' can only apply to a body, and yet you said that you do not hold He is a body. 310

If they had described Him [50] in terms of "the Establishment over the Throne" (al-istiwā' 'alā al-'arsh) we would not have objected to them for it, but we would consider this merely to resemble tashbīh or coming dangerously close to it.³¹¹ And Allāh is the Grantor of success.

The impostor then produced, as another one of his proofs, the saying of Allāh reporting Pharaoh's words: {O Hāmān! Build for me a tower that haply I may reach the roads, the roads of the heavens, and may look upon the God of Mūsā} (40:36-37).312

I truly wonder how he understood from Pharaoh's words that Allāh Almighty is above the heavens and above the Throne so that the God of Mūsā can be looked upon! For Allāh did not mention that the God of Mūsā is in the heavens. Let us hypothetically say that this can be understood from Pharaoh's words. How can he produce as a proof Pharaoh's idea and

³⁰⁹ This objection was made by Dāwūd al-Zāhirī and was rejected by al-Rāghib, Ibn Baṭṭāl, and Ibn Ḥajar among others cf. our article "Istiwā' is a Divine Act" in Sunna Notes. ³¹⁰ I.e. just as you hold that He is not a body although He sits, so do we hold that He is not facing any defense despite His istīlā'. On the interpretations of istiwā' as istīlā' by Ash' arīs and as "sitting" (julūs) by the anthropomorphists, see "Istiwā' is a Divine Act."

³¹¹ Because "the Establishment" implies anthropomorphism more remotely than to say "the Establishment of Allāh." In addition, the latter is an inadmissible inference, since the Attributes are non-inferable.

³¹² Ḥamawiyya (p. 217) = Majmūʻ al-Fatāwā (5:13).

69

understanding, concerning whom Allāh said that {the evil that he did was made fair-seeming unto Pharaoh, and he was debarred from the right way, and his plot ended but in ruin} (40:37)?

Also, when Pharaoh asked Mūsā: {And what is the Lord of the worlds?} (26:23), Mūsā did not broach the concept of direction. He only mentioned the most specific of Attributes, namely, the power of Allāh to invent and create.³¹³ If direction were established as true, it would have been more appropriate to make it known! For sensory indications are among the strongest means of cognition, both in terms of sensory perception and common usage.

Furthermore, Pharaoh asked his question in terms of "what." Therefore, a reply addressing dimensionality (al-taḥayyuz) would have been more to the point than the one that mentions the aforesaid Attribute.

The extent of his [Ibn Taymiyya's] understanding of this verse, whence he produced his proof, is Pharaoh's understanding. The support of that doctrine is the fact that Pharaoh came up with it, and he is its ultimate authority. I wonder why he did not openly attribute it to him. This would be in keeping with his statement about the doctrine of the leaders of the Community of Muḥammad — who contravened his beliefs in the matters of dimensionality and direction and whom he counted among the Jahmiyya – that it came from Labīd ibn al-Aṣʿam, the Jew who cast a spell on the Prophet . 15

³¹³ Mūsā's reply in the next verse is: {He said: Lord of the Heavens and the earth and all that is between them, if you had but sure belief} (26:24).

315 Narrated from 'Aisha by al-Bukhārī, Muslim, and in the Sunan and Musnads. Labīd is

This is identical to Qādī Ibn al-'Arabī al-Mālikī's flaying of the anthropomorphists as those whose imām is Pharaoh: "Your conclusion shows that you are indeed the followers of Pharaoh, who believed that the Creator lies in a certain direction, and so he desired to climb up to Him on a ladder. He congratulates you for being among his followers and he is your imām!" Ibn al-'Arabī, 'Āriḍat al-Ahwadhī (2:235).

[51] He concluded his review of the noble verses which he produced as proofs with the sayings of Allāh : {A sending-down (tanzīl) from the Wise, the Owner of Praise} (41:42) and {Sent down from your Lord in truth} (6:114). In neither of these two verses is there any mention of a Throne ('arsh), or a Seat of Authority (kursī), or a heaven, or an earth. All that is mentioned is the sending-down and no more. I have no idea from what evidence the impostor inferred them. One does not infer the heaven from the sending-down, since the latter can be from the heaven or from somewhere else.

Indeed, how can one infer from the sending-down of the Qur'ān a descent (nuzūl) which consists in displacement from above to a lower point? The Arabs certainly do not conceive of such displacement in relation to words, whether the word is an accident ('araḍ) or not.³¹⁷ Just as they apply "descent" to mean displacement, they apply it to mean otherwise also. This agrees with what was mentioned in the Book of Allāh: {And We sent down iron, wherein is mighty power} (57:25) and {He has sent down for you of cattle eight kinds} (39:6). No one sighted a piece of iron coming down airborne from the sky,³¹⁸ nor a camel gliding down from the heaven to the earth. Therefore, just as he

identified as the source of Jahmī doctrine by the scholars, cf. Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāya wal-Nihāya (9:382, 10:21). By categorizing the Ash'arīs together with the Jahmiyya, Ibn Taymiyya in his Fatāwā (and Ibn al-Qayyim in al-Nūniyya) purports to cast the leading authorities of Ahl al-Sunna as Jewish infidels. See below, n. 343, 376 and 378. He followed in this Ibn Hazm's rabidly anti-Ash'arī stance cf. al-Dhahabī, Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā' (Fikr ed. 13:131) and Ibn al-Subki, Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya al-Kubrā (3:384-385, 399-423; 4:131-132, 406-416).

³¹⁶ Ḥamawiyya (p. 217) = Majmū' al-Fatāwā (5:13).

³¹⁷ *I.e.* whether words are the created words of human beings or the Divine uncreated Speech, in both cases they do not move about in space. And Allāh knows best.

³¹⁸ Iron does come down from the sky according to the theory of nucleosynthesis, invisibly to the naked eye. Nevertheless, this is not what verse 57:25 means since the "sending down" means the same Divine act of creation as in 39:6 as per Ibn Jahbal's demonstration.

allowed that "descent" here means other than displacement from high to low, let him allow it there also.

This is the last of the evidence he produced from the Glorious Book. He had claimed, first of all, that he but said what Allāh said, and that the verses that he mentioned were proofs to that effect either as an explicit stipulation (naṣṣan) or as a literal meaning (zāhiran). If the reader considers this claim of his [52] then carefully scrutinizes what we said, examining these verses one by one, he will not find in them a single word which conforms with what he claimed – neither as an explicit statement, nor as a literal meaning. A fortiori, every matter after the Book of Allāh sis subject to falsification.



The Fallacy of His "Proofs From the Sunna"

He then produced as a proof from the Sunna the hadith of the Prophet's Ascension (al-Mi'rāj).319 But at no point in the hadīth of the Ascension does it literally say that Allāh 🚾 is above the heaven or the Throne. There is not one word in the hadith to that effect! He did not even attempt to quote the hadith of the Ascent nor show with clarity the supposed proof so that we could answer him on it. If he had clearly shown the place of his inference, we would have let him know the clear answer to it. 320

³¹⁹ Ḥamawiyya (p. 218) = Majmū al-Fatāwā (5:13), "If it is asked: Does the event of Mi'rāj indicate that the Exalted Who is worshipped is in the above direction, since He raised him & up in the direction of aboveness? The answer is: There is no such indication in it. Rather, the Pre-Eternal One does not have a 'towards' nor a limit (laysa lahu naḥwun wa-lā ḥadd). Nor is there any link (ittiṣāl) between Him and creatures, nor any separation (infisāl) from them. Being in a place with relation to Him is an absurd impossibility (muḥāl). He was - Exalted is He! - when there was no place, and He is now exactly as He ever was. He is the One Whom no injury overtakes and to Whom no distance applies." Al-Qushayrī, al-Mi'rāj (p. 70). See also al-Mālikī's comments in Wa-Huwa bil-Ufuqi al-A'lā, chapter titled "al-Mi'rāj wa-Shubhat al-Makān" etc. (p. 246-251).

Much of tajsīm thrives on a similar imprecision with regard to the evidence. Instead of being provided with clear proofs, the reader is tasked with imagining them himself through the anthropomorphic grid. This process can be observed in page after page of Ibn Taymiyya's discourse on the Divine Attributes.

Then he adduced as a proof the descent of the angels from the Divine Presence. The answer to this is that the descent of the angels from the heaven is only due to the fact that the heaven is their abode. As for their being-in-the-Divine-Presence (al-'indiyya), it does not indicate that Allāh is in the heaven. For it is also said, concerning human Messengers: They come from Allāh" (innahum min 'ind Allāh), although they did not descend from the heaven. This said, being in the presence of Allāh imay mean superlative honor and eminence. Allāh said: {Lo! he [Dāwūd] had access to Our presence and a happy journey's end} (38:25). Ind is also used in another sense, as the Prophet is said, quoting his Lord: Ima according to ('ind) My servant's opinion of Me."322

Then he mentioned the ascent of the angels once more, 323 apparently strengthening his spine and raising his hopes with the wording {unto their Lord} (6:38, 6:51, 6:108) where "unto" (ilā) presumably signifies arrival at one's destination in the sense of crossing a distance. This tacit assumption of his shows that he does not speak the language of the Arabs. For the Arabs do not understand distance except as that through which bodies move, whereas he claims they do not say that. Also, the Intimate Friend (al-Khalīl) of Allāh said: {I am going unto my Lord} (37:99) but this, by general agreement, is not in the sense of arrival which the impostor meant. How then does he dare bring up such a meaning in relation to the Book of Allāh as would not be acceptable even for a lone-narrated report?

³²¹ Ḥamawiyya (p. 218) = Majmūʻ al-Fatāwā (5:13).

³²² Narrated from Abū Hurayra by al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Tīrmidhī, and Ahmad; and from Wāthila ibn al-Asqaʻ by Ibn Ḥibbān (2:401-405 §633-639), al-Ṭabarānī in al-Kabīr (22:210) and al-Awsat, and others.

³²³ Ḥamawiyya (p. 218) = Majmūʻ al-Fatāwā (5:13).

77

78

79

Then he mentioned the saying of the Prophet : "Do you not trust me when I am trusted by the one/those who is/are in the heaven (man fil-samā'), and news from him/them comes to me morning and evening?"324

The meaning of man fīl-samā' is not Allāh Almighty, nor did the Prophet # mention that it was. He did not specify Allah #. How then did the impostor decide that what was meant by man is not [53] the angels? For they are the greatest of all creatures in knowledge and the most apprised of the nearness of Allah &. They know well that the Prophet 38 is trusted, and he holds that rank among them. Let the impostor know that there is nothing in the hadith to contradict this, nor is there anything in it to support what he claimed!326

Then he mentioned the hadith of the invocation for healing (ruqya): "Our Lord, Allāh, in the heaven hallowed be Your Name! Your command comes to pass in the heaven and the earth, just as sustenance from You is in the heaven."327 Provided

324 Narrated from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī by al-Bukhārī and Muslim. Ḥamawiyya (p. 218-219) = Majmū' al-Fatāwā (5:13). See the Sunnī Imāms' explanations of the words "in 325 Cf. §51 above.

326 Ibn Hajar said: "Al-Kirmānī (d. 668) said: 'The literal meaning of {the one who is in the heaven] is not meant, for Allah is transcendent beyond indwelling a place. However, since the direction of elevation is nobler than any other direction, Allah predicated it to Himself to indicate the loftiness of His Essence and Attributes. Others than al-Kirmānī addressed in similar terms the expressions that came down concerning aboveness (fawqiyya)." Fath al-Bārī (1959 ed. 13:412). See the discussion on aboveness in our article, "The Hadith of the Mountain Goats" in the Sunna Notes series.

327 A very weak ḥadīth because of its narrator Ziyāda ibn Muḥammad al-Miṣrī who is "discarded" (matrūk). Narrated from Abū al-Dardā' by Abū Dāwūd, al-Ṭabarānī in al-Kabīr, al-Ḥākim (1:344 and 4:218 with a very weak chain as indicated by al-Dhahabī), and al-Bayhaqī in al-Asmā' (al-Hāshidī ed. 2:327 §892) thus: The Prophet 🅱 said: "Whoever among you is afflicted by something or is told by his brother of the latter's affliction, let him say: 'Our Lord, Allah, in the heaven hallowed be Your Name! Your command comes to pass in the heaven and the earth. As Your mercy is in the heaven, let it be on earth. Forgive us our trespasses and our sins. Verily You are the Lord of the Righteous.

that this hadīth is authentic, then what the Prophet mentioned is: "Our Lord, in the heaven hallowed be Your Name." He did not stop after "in the heaven." On what basis, therefore, should we stop after it and make "hallowed be Your Name" a new clause? Did the Prophet do this or order it?

Accordingly, the impostor finds no other issue but to say: "The Name of Allāh is hallowed both in the heaven and the earth, so why specify heaven?" But we also ask him: Why did you yourself specify the heaven in your argument?

Further, what is the meaning of "hallowed" (tagaddasa)? If it is a declaration of Transcendence (tanzīh), then that is neither in a heaven nor on earth. For the declaration of Transcendence is the negation of defects - meaning something unrelated to manginess and dust. The meaning would be that creatures hallow [Him] and declare [His] Transcendence. There is no doubt that the inhabitants of the heaven absolutely all declare His Transcendence, just as there is no doubt that some among the inhabitants of the earth do not. Instead, the latter set up rivals for Him and describe Him with what does not befit His Majesty. Therefore, the distinction of "the heaven" in relation to the hallowing is because of the distinction of the totality of its inhabitants in declaring Divine Transcendence. Allah & singles Himself out in His sovereignty on the Day of Judgment, without any of those who imagined that they possessed sovereignty, and says: {Owner of the Day of Judgment} (1:4). Similarly, He said, after the

Send down a mercy from Your mercies and a cure from Your cure on this ailment.' Then he will be cured." Aḥmad (17:183 §23839) and al-Ḥākim (4:243) narrate something similar, mursal from Faḍāla ibn 'Ubayd al-Anṣārī. All these narrations have weak or very weak chains, as does al-Nasā'ī's from Faḍāla from Abū al-Dardā' in the Sunan al-Kubrā (6:257) and 'Amal al-Yawm wal-Layla. Al-Nawawī left it out of the Adhkār while Ibn al-Qaysarānī included it in his index of forgeries, Tadhkirat al-Mawḍū'āt (\$756). Ḥamawiyya (p. 220-221) = Majmū' al-Fatāwā (5:13).

80

destruction of those who claimed sovereignty and wealth: {Whose is the sovereignty this Day? It belongs to Allāh, the One, the Almighty} (40:16).

Then this impostor repeated what he said from the start until he stated: "Therefore, let one say: 'Our Lord Who is in the heaven." [54] He said this, stopping at the Prophet's words "in the heaven." I ask, did any of the Scholars of Islām say or hold that it was permissible to do such a thing? Or is this anything other than a deluded suggestion that the master of Prophets actually said: "Our Lord is Allāh Who is in the heaven"? 328

Concerning the ḥadīth of the mountain goats (ḥadīth al-awʿāl) and its wording whereby "the Throne is above all this, and Allāh is above all this," this is a narration with which they frequently deceive the common people by claiming that they only say what the ḥadīth says. They inject it into their rhetoric and do not leave a single propaganda-session of theirs (daʿāwī-him) except that they grace it with it. We shall make it very clear that they do not, in fact, subscribe to a single letter of it, nor do they have a firm basis upon which they can say that Allāh is literally above the Throne. On the contrary, they contradict that proposition.

³²⁸ See below, \$120-126.

³²⁹ A weak ḥadīth narrated from al-'Abbās-ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib by al-Tirmidhī (hasan gharīb), Abū Dāwūd, and Ibn Mājah, Aḥmad (2:375-376 \$1770-1771) and Abū Ya'lā in his Musnad (12:75 \$6713), al-Ḥākim (2:288, 2:378, 2:501), Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, al-Sunna (p. 253 \$577), al-Ājurrī, al-Sharī'a (p. 297-298 \$674-676), al-Bayhaqī, Asmā' (2:285 \$847, 2:316 \$882), Ibn Khuzayma in al-Tawhīd (p. 102), and Ibn al-Jawzī in al-'Ilal al-Mutanāhiya (1:23-25 \$5-6). Hamawiyya (p. 221-223) = Majmū' al-Fatāwā (5:13-14). See "The Ḥadīth of the Mountain Goats" in our Sunna Notes series.



Parenthesis: His Understanding of the Withness (ma'iyya) and Height of Allāh

What makes their contradiction manifest is the conclusion of the impostor's discourse, which we quote by jumping ahead:

84

Let no one think that this contradicts the literal (zāhir) meaning of the saying of Allāh: {And He is with you wheresoever you may be} (57:4) or that of the Prophet's saying: "Whenever one of you stands to pray, [let him know that] verily, Allāh is in front of him," and the like. That would be an obvious mistake. For Allāh is both literally with us (Allāh ma' anā ḥaqīqatan) and literally above the Throne (fawqa al'arshi ḥaqīqatan) [!]. 331 He has coupled (jama'a) the two facts

330 Narrated from Ibn 'Umar by al-Bukhārī and Muslim. The continuation of the hadīth states, "Therefore let no one spit in front of him in prayer." Al-Khaṭṭābī said, as cited by al-Bayhaqī, Asmā' (Kawtharī ed. p. 465-466; Ḥāshidī ed. 2:397-399) and al-Nawawī, Sharḥ Ṣaḥiḥ Muslim (5:38): "Meaning, the direction which Allāh has enjoined upon him to face in prayer is before his face." Al-Bayhaqī, op. cit.: "Meaning, the reward of Allāh ﷺ for that worshipper descends upon him from the direction he is facing." Ibn Ḥajar, Fatḥ al-Bārī (1989 ed. 1:669): "The ḥadīth also constitutes a refutation of those who say that Allāh ﷺ is on the Throne 'in person.'" Cf. al-'Irāqī, Tarḥ al-Tathrīb (2:380-386).

³³¹ This is a leitmotiv of Ibn Taymiyya. Elsewhere in his Fatāwā he states: "Allāh is with us in reality, and He is above His Throne in reality (Allāhu ma' ana ḥaqīqatan wa huwa fawqa al-'arshi ḥaqīqatan)[...]. Allāh is with His creation in reality and He is above His

together by saying: {He it is Who created the heavens and the earth in six days, then He established Himself over the Throne. He knows all that enters the earth and all that emerges therefrom and all that comes down from the sky and all that ascends therein; and He is with you (ma'akum) wheresoever you may be. And Allāh is Seer of what you do} (57:4). 332

The impostor then blurted this out with his own mouth, without any concealment or hesitation: "Allāh that has therefore informed us that He is above the Throne and is with us wherever we are, just as the Prophet said in the hadīth of the mountain goats: 'And Allāh is above the Throne and He knows what you do.'" 333

The reader can see that this impostor has claimed that Allāh is "above the Throne in reality" and has produced as his proof the verse: {Then He established Himself over the Throne} (57:4), construing it as a statement from Allāh is that He is above the Throne. Whereas [55] any person of sound intellect and upright mind knows that the wording {established Himself over the Throne} is not literally synonymous with the wording "above the Throne." We demonstrated that previously. 334

Nor is there anything in the verse indicating the coupling (aljam') which he claimed [i.e. "both above the Throne and with us"], nor did he explain the concept by which this coupling provides a proof. All he did was to quote a verse from the Book of Allāh & – one does not know whether he memorized it or copied it from a volume of the Qur'ān. Then he compared the

86

Throne in reality (Allāhu ma'a khalqihi ḥaqīqatan wa-huwa fawqa al-'arshi ḥaqīqatan)"! Majmū' al-Fatāwā (5:103).

³³² Ḥamawiyya (p. 518-519) = Majmū' al-Fatāwā (5:102-103).

³³³ Hamawiyya (p. 519) = Majmū^c al-Fatāwā (5:103). None of the more than twenty-three versions of the ḥadīth has the wording "Allāh is above the Throne" except al-Ājurrī's in al-Sharī'a (p. 298 §676). See note 329 above and the article, "The Ḥadīth of the Mountain Goats" in our Sunna Notes series.

³³⁴ Cf. supra, \$54 to \$65.

probative force of the verse in question with the hadith of the mountain goats - in his own words - "just as the Prophet * said: And Allah is above the Throne." But the reader can see that there is nothing in this hadith indicating [His] being-with-us (alma'iyya), nor even the least mention of the word "with" (ma') to begin with.

He said:

If "with" is used in the absolute sense, then its literal meaning in the Arabic language is none other than "association" (almuqārana) in the absolute sense, without necessity of contact or being-alongside, whether from the right or from the left. 335 When "with" is restricted to a given meaning, then it stands for association within that meaning. For example, it is said: "All during our trip the moon was with us and the stars were with us."336 It is also said: "These effects are with us," in the sense that they accompany you, even if they are located above your head. Therefore, Allah is not with His creation

335 This premise is at noticeable variance with the definitions of the lexicographers and grammarians which suggest materiality as the fundamental tenor of such association. Among the lexicographers, al-Fayrūzābādī in al-Qāmūs al-Muhīt gives the two primary meanings of ma'a as the conjoining or combining of something with something (damm al-shay' ilā al-shay') and accompaniment (al-muṣāḥaba), both of which suggest "contact or being-alongside," while Ibn Manzūr in Lisān al- 'Arab states an identical definition: "A word which combines something with something else, it is a noun which means companionship" (kalimatun tadummu al-shay'a ilā al-shay'i wa-hiya ismun ma' nāhu al-suḥba). Among the grammarians, al-Mālaqī (d. 702) in Rasf al-Mabānī (p. 394) states that its meaning is "accompaniment" (al-muṣāḥaba), while al-Murādī (d. 724) in al-Janā al-Dānī (p. 306) states it as "a noun for the place or time of the act of accompaniment according to whatever befits the construct" (ismun li-makān al-iṣṭiḥāb aw waqtih 'alā ḥasab mā yalīqu bil-mudāf ilayh). Ibn Taymiyya's deviation from these definitions is exposed by

336 Another leitmotiv of Ibn Taymiyya, used in his 'Aqīda Wāsiṭiyya and elsewhere, where he compares Allah Most High to the moon and the sun in order to prove that the reading of the being-with-us of Allah to mean "with His knowledge" is a literal and not a figurative interpretation. Cf. his discussion of the verses of ma'iyya (57:4, 58:7, 20:46, 9:40 etc.) §84-97. Ibn Jahbal then refutes these views (§98-103).

except in reality, and He is not above His Throne except in reality. This said, "being-with-something" has different stipulations according to context. Allāh said: {He knows all that enters the earth and all that emerges therefrom and all that comes down from the sky and all that ascends therein; and He is with you wheresoever you may be. And Allāh is seer of what you do} (57:4). The literal meaning of this discourse indicates that the stipulation of this "being-with" and its requirement is that He is aware of you and knows about you. Hence, the meaning of the Salafs statement: "He is with them in His knowledge." And that is both the letter of the text and its real sense (zāhir al-khiṭāb wa-ḥaqīqatuhu). 337

89 He continued:

Similarly, this applies to the sayings of Allāh : {There is no secret conference of three but He is their fourth, nor of five but He is their sixth, nor of less than that or more but He is with them wheresoever they may be} (58:7), [56] {Grieve not. Lo! Allāh is with us} (9:40), {Lo! Allāh is with those who keep their duty unto Him and those who are doers of good} (16:128), {Lo! I am with you twain, Hearing and Seeing} (20:46). A boy's father may say to him from the top of the roof: "Do not be afraid, I am with you!" These are all cases of "being-with" that dictate stipulations according to context. 338

Det the observer understand well the manner of this impostor in the preceding instances and note the glibness of his language in promoting his goals. 339

order to reach outlandish conclusions.

³³⁷ Ḥamawiyya (p. 519-520) = Majmūʻ al-Fatāwā (5:103).

³³⁸ Hamawiyya (p. 520-521) = Majmū' al-Fatāwā (5:104).
339 Ibn Jahbal points to Ibn Taymiyya's mixing together true premises (cf. al-Junayd's and al-Nūrī's explanations of ma'iyya above, §27 and n. 269) and false ones (cf. §88, §86) in

Then he said: "There is a difference between 'being-with' on the one hand and, on the other, what is essentially understood from its meaning, which varies according to different contexts." Let the observer understand this sentence which is neither in Arabic nor in a non-Arabic language. Glory to Him Who is glorified in various tongues!

Then he said: "The term 'with' has been used in different places of the Book and the Sunna, each place dictating something which the other did not dictate." These are his exact words. "Therefore," he said, "either the proofs that 'with' provides differ according to these different contexts, or they form a combined single value shared by all its contexts, even if each one differs from the other in something specific." Go then and understand this impostor's subdivisions and circumvolutions! Then he said: "In either case, its exigence (muqtaḍāhā) is never that the Divine Essence be intermixed with creation in order that one must say: it is diverted from its literal meaning." 341

Then he said further down:

Whoever realizes that 'with' is used in construct with [the name for] every different kind of creature – just as, for example, lordship is used in construct with [the name for] every different kind of creature – while <code>istiwā</code> over something is

92

³⁴⁰ Ḥamawiyya (p. 521) = Majmūʻ al-Fatāwā (5:104).

Hamawiyya (p. 521) = Majmū' al-Fatāwā (5:104). Ibn Qudāma similarly claimed that the literal meaning (zāhir) of "with" in such verses was "with His knowledge," "with His protection," "with His support," etc. so that these meanings can no longer be called figurative interpretations (taˈwīl). Then he conceded that even if they were, they are only in reiteration of the Salafs taˈwīl. Dhamm al-Taˈwīl (p. 43 \$93-97). Thus the Hanbalis concede that the Salaf practiced taˈwīl in certain cases, although they prefer not to give it that name. To the Ash'arīs, these are all clearcut cases of figurative interpretation (taˈwīl) without need for apology and confirmed by Arabic usage, as indicated by Ibn Jahbal.

used for the Throne and nothing but the Throne;³⁴² and that Allāh is described with literal height ('uluw) and aboveness (fawqiyya), never lowliness (sufūl) nor belowness (taḥtiyya) – neither real nor figurative – will realize that the Qur'ān means just what it means (al-Qur'ān 'alā mā huwa 'alayh) without distortion (taḥrīf).³⁴³

- Let the observer understand well these dogmatic premises [57], these composed, assertive expressions, as restricting *istiwā* to the Throne is something no rational person ever held save an ignorant one!
- Then he said: "Whoever imagines that Allāh is in the heaven in the sense that the heaven surrounds and contains Him is a liar if he claims to report it from someone else and misguided if he believes it of his Lord. We never heard anyone understand it thus from those words, nor saw anyone report it from anyone else." Let the observer be notified that understanding can be heard!

³⁴² Compare this with Imam Aḥmad's lofty explanation of *istiwā'* whereby "[Allāh] is above everything and He is exalted over everything but He specified the Throne because of its particular significance which makes it different from everything else, as the Throne is the best of all things and the most elevated of them." Ibn Abī Ya'lā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila* (2:296-297). Cf. below, note 371.

sas Hamawiyya (p. 523) = Majmū' al-Fatāwā (5:105-106). This is a rhetorical platitude, as everything "means just what it means" anyway. The actual aim here is to bring up the word taḥrīf, the Qur'ānic word used in relation to those who distorted the Scripture revealed to them (2:75, 4:46, 5:13, 5:41). By this device Ibn Taymiyya assimilates figurative interpretation to the act of Christian and Jewish interpolators. This is similar to his conflating the interpretation (ta'wīl) of Ash'arīs with the nullification (ta'tīl) of Mu'tazilīs and their subsects or his reference to Labīd; the important thing for him being to represent Ash'arīs as non-Sunnīs. This is the method revived by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb and parroted by the "Salafīs" in our time.

³⁴⁴ Ḥamawiyya (p. 523) = Majmū' al-Fatāwā (5:106).

He said:

If all Muslims were asked whether they understand from the words of Allāh and those of His Prophet that "Allāh is in the heaven" in the sense that it contains Him, each one of them would hasten to say: "Such a thing would have never occurred to us." If this is the case, then it is abnormal to make the literal meaning of an expression mean something absurd which no one thinks it means, and then turn to interpret it figuratively. Rather, the Muslims hold that Allāh is in the heaven and that He is on the Throne in one and the same sense, for by the heaven is meant nothing other than height. The meaning is therefore that Allāh is in the heights, not at the bottom. 346

Thus spoke the impostor. Let the observer read and reread the above enormity (fal-yuthni al-nāziru 'alā hādhihi bil-khanāṣir) and bite upon it with his very jaws, and know with certainty that the folk {ruin their houses with their own hands and the hands of the believers} (59:2). He said:

The Muslims have long since known that His *kursī* – exalted is He! – encompasses the heaven and the earth, and that the *kursī*, in comparison to the '*arsh*, is like a ring thrown into a desert," and that the Throne is but one of the creations of

³⁴⁵ Bal 'inda al-muslimīn annallāha fīl-samā' wa-huwa 'alā al-'arshi wāḥidun idh al-samā'u innamā yurādu bihā al-'uluw. This axiom of Ibn Taymiyya becomes the focus of Ibn Jahbal's subsequent response cf. below, \$109-224.

³⁴⁶ Ḥamawiyya (p. 523-524) = Majmūʻ al-Fatāwā (5:106).

³⁴⁷ Narrated with very weak chains as part of a long hadīth from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī by Ibn Ḥibbān (2:77 §361 *isnād ḍaʿīf jiddan*), Abū Nuʿaym (1:166-168), al-Bayhaqī in the *Sunan* (9:4), and Abū al-Shaykh in *al-ʿAzama* (2:547, 2:570, etc.) but Ibn Ḥajar in *Fath al-Bārī* (13:411) said Saʿīd ibn Manṣūr narrated it in his *Sunan* (3:951 §425) with a sound *mursal* chain from Mujāhid – a *maqṭū* report.

Allāh unrelated to <other than>³⁴⁸ His Might and Magnificence. How then can anyone imagine, after all this, that something created can confine or contain Him? Allāh said: {I shall crucify you "in" (fī) the trunks of palm trees} (20:71), and {Do but travel "in" the earth} (3:137, 16:36), [both] in the sense of "on." There are other such examples, and this an Arabic idiom used in the real sense, not figuratively. [58] This is well-known by those who know the literal meanings of words (ḥaqāʾiq maʿnā al-ḥurūf), and the fact that they ³⁴⁹ are at par (mutawāṭiʾa) for the most part. ³⁵⁰

Here ends his reasoning.

³⁴⁸ Illā. This word was apparently blanked out from the original text of the Ḥamawiyya as indicated in al-Tuwayjirī's critical apparatus and must have existed in some copies exclusively of others cf. below, §115-116. The Majmūʿ al-Fatāwā has "and that the Throne is but one of the creations of Allāh, not a pointer to His Might and Magnificence" (lā nisbatan ilā qudratillāhi wa-ʿazamatih) while al-Tuwayjirī amends it to read, "and that the Throne is but one of the creations of Allāh which has no relation to His Might and Magnificence" (lā nisbata lahu ilā qudratillāhi wa-ʿazamatih).

 $^{^{349}}$ $\bar{l.e.}$ literal meanings and the words that stand for them, a literalist creed applied by Ibn Taymiyya to the prepositions "with" (ma°) , "over" $(^\circ al\bar{a})$, "above" (fawq) etc. See notes 335 and 341 above.

³⁵⁰ Ḥamawiyya (p. 524) = Majmūʻ al-Fatāwā (5:106).

His Peculiar Understanding of "with," "in," "above" and "on"

First, we ask: What is the meaning of your statement: "The word 'with' (ma') in the Arabic language is for 'association' (almuqārana) in the absolute sense, without contact or being-alongside?" What is "association?" If one does not understand, by that word, anything but automatic corporeality (al-jismiyya), then the purpose [of anthropomorphism] has been reached. And if one understands other than that, then let us know so, and see for yourself whether the Arabs understand corporeality from the word muqārana or not.

To his statement "When 'with' is restricted to a given meaning, it stands for 'association' within that meaning" we reply, who has decreed such a rule in such a case?

To his claim that in all these passages "association" denotes knowledge we reply, from where did you deduce this? If he says that he deduced it from the saying of Allāh: {There is no secret conference of three but He is their fourth} (58:7), claiming that this verse indicates "association" in the sense of knowledge, and claiming that the "association" is nevertheless real, we reply: You

99

have allowed yourself plenty of room to maneuver, so do the same for us! Know that just as the word "above" (*fawq*) is used for height in a certain direction, similarly, it is used for height in rank, authority, and sovereignty. The same applies with "establishment" (*istiwā*'). These dual senses go hand in hand, exactly as you said. ³⁵¹

Take, for example, the statements of Allāh: {He is the Omnipotent over (fawq) His slaves} (6:18, 6:61); {The Hand of Allāh is above (fawq) their hands} (48:10); in the mouth of Pharaoh's people: {We are in power over (fawq) them} (7:127); and {We have raised some of them above (fawq) others in rank} (43:32). It is known that the direction of height is not meant here. Therefore, look into the matter a second time and say, also, that "above the Throne" [59] is in the sense of establishing dominion (istīlā').

The same applies with the hadith of the mountain goats. Whatever you did with "with" (ma'), do it with "above" (fawq) also. Bring out these meanings here as you have brought them out there, or else leave everything alone.

To his saying: "Whoever realizes that 'with' is used in construct with [the name of] every different kind of creature, just as, for example, 'lordship' is used in construct with [the name of] every different kind of creature, while <code>istiwā</code>' is over the Throne and nothing but the Throne," we reply: Give us only a glimpse, in support of what you say, of a single person that uses "with" and knows – without evidence – all that you say. For you have certainly not established any proof for the above. All you did was to loudly assert a wording whereby <code>fawq</code> positively signifies <code>istiwā</code>' in the sense of height. I wonder, how do you know that "association" in the sense of "knowledge" is a literal sense, ³⁵² and

352 As opposed to a metaphorical sense.

IOI

102

³⁵¹ Cf. article, "The Ḥadīth of the Mountain Goats," in our Sunna Notes.

that the verse of *istiwā*' over the Throne and the ḥadīth of the mountain goats point to the Attribute of Lordship as real aboveness? O Allāh, forgive me! Such knowledge can only come from miraculous unveiling (*kashf*)! Otherwise, the proofs which Allāh has brought forth to make known His Essence, His Attributes, and His Laws – of such proofs the impostor has not cited a single letter in support of whatever he claims. He has no firm foothold except in the abyss.

As for his saying that "Allāh is not described with lowliness nor belowness whether real or figurative" – O wonder! Whoever made such a claim in the first place that he should busy himself discussing it?

As for his saying further: "Whoever imagines that Allāh is in the heaven in the sense that the heaven surrounds and contains Him is a liar if he claims to report it from someone else and misguided if he believes it of his Lord." O impostor! Say what you understand, and understand what you are saying. Address people rationally and in the speech of rational persons so that you will benefit them and benefit from them. If you yourself are trying to infer the meaning of direction from the word "in" (fi), and interpret it in its real sense, then is anything other than the quality of place understood from it, or some related meaning? And since this is the case, does any thinking person conceive of the quality of place as separate from the concept of surrounding – whether in part or in whole – or whatever presupposes it? Was this ever heard of?

Or [has anyone heard] of one who ventures that "in" is literally in a certain direction, but that neither containment nor encompassment, in part or in whole, is understood thereby? If your purpose is to have people suspend the use of their brains

so that you alone can speak while they imitate you blindly and acquiesce, then expect that one of those in charge of punishing [60] the violators of this Community will summon you for your act and convict you of wrong-doing!³⁵³

As for your saying: "If all Muslims were asked whether they understand from the words of Allāh and those of His Prophet that 'Allāh is in the heaven' in the sense that it contains Him, each one of them would hasten to say: 'Such a thing would have never occurred to us.'" We reply: What do you mean by the above? If you mean to say that this expression does not yield that meaning, then I defy you to ask an expert in the language of the Arabs about it. He will certainly not confirm your claim that this expression does not yield that meaning, since "in" is a circumstancial preposition which, in its real or proper sense ('alā ḥaqīqatihā), denotes direction.

But if you mean to say that rational minds reject such a representation of Allāh , then we agree with you only in affirming the same, and in rejecting all that may falsely suggest imperfection with regard to Allāh Almighty.

As for your saying: "The Muslims hold that Allāh is in the heaven and that He is on the Throne in one and the same sense," you must not attribute that discourse to anyone besides yourself and those from whom you have received this disgraceful belief. Do not, through such speech, misrepresent the Muslims as perpetrating absurdities.

107

108

³⁵³ This prediction proved true, as it was written before the series of trials and imprisonments to which Ibn Taymiyya was subjected until his death.

³⁵⁴ Ibn Taymiyya believed himself a greater expert in the Arabic language than Sībawayh, for which the grammarian Abū Ḥayyān abandoned him cf. Ibn Ḥajar's notice on Ibn Taymiyya in *al-Durar al-Kāmina* (1:153).

His Understanding of the Heaven to Mean "the Height"

Then you used – as your proof that Allāh being "in the heaven" and His being "on the Throne" are one and the same sense – the claim that "by 'the heaven' is meant nothing other than height, meaning that Allāh is in the heights, not at the bottom." Tell me: Did Allāh ﷺ, His Prophet ﷺ, or the First and Foremost among the Emigrants and Helpers å ever say such a thing as "Allāh is in the heights, not at the bottom?"

In fact, everything you said from the beginning of the introduction to the end, if it were conceded to you, its gist would be that Allah said of Himself that He established Himself over the Throne, and that Allah sis above the Throne. As for the claim that by the heaven is meant the height, you were not so fortunate as to substantiate it with narrations from the authorities.

As for your saying: "The Muslims have long since known that His *kursī* encompasses the heaven and the earth, and that [61] the *kursī*, in comparison to the 'arsh, is like a ring thrown into a desert" – I wonder: if the ḥadīth of the mountain goats indicates

110

111

to you that Allāh is is above the Throne, then how do you reconcile it with the ascent of the angels to the heaven where Allāh is? And how can He be, at the same time, in the heaven in reality?

Perhaps you will say: "What is meant by the two is the direction of height, which reconciles the two." In this case I ask: After such a reconciliation (tawfiq) which is devoid both of Divine prescriptiveness (tawqif) and success (tawfiq), how can you say that Allāh is literally (haqiqatan) in (fi) the heaven, and literally above (fawq) the heaven, and literally in (fi) the Throne, and literally on ('alā) the Throne?

Further, the real sense of "heaven" ($al\text{-}sam\bar{a}$ ") is this visible phenomenon which one calls by its name without in the least thinking in terms of altitude ($al\text{-}sum\bar{u}$). As for the derivation [$al\text{-}sam\bar{a} < al\text{-}sum\bar{u}$], then the heaven has no particular distinction for it over "the roof" or "the clouds."

Then there is your subsequent saying: "The Throne is but one of the creations of Allāh unrelated to other than the Might and Magnificence of Allāh." Our copy indeed states "unrelated to other than the Might and Magnificence of Allāh" (*lā nisbata lahu illā qudrat Allāh wa-'azamatahu*). If this is correct, then you have denied the existence of the Throne and claimed that "direction" is in fact "Might and Magnificence." Your words would then mean: "The direction of Allāh is His Might and Magnificence." Now you have become incoherent; and no one ever said this.

But if what you actually said was "unrelated to the Might of Allāh and His Magnificence" (*lā nisbata lahu ilā qudratillāh wa- azamatihi*), then you have spoken fairly and truly, for whoever said otherwise?³⁵⁵ Upon my life! We have overhauled this passage for you and taught you how to improve it.

113

114

 $^{^{355}}$ I.e. the Throne, despite being the greatest of all creations, does not compare with Allāh's uncreated Attributes.

Then you said: "Can anyone imagine, after all this, that something created can confine or contain Him?" Precisely! And from where or what does all our trouble come if not from those who claim confinement or suggest it?

Then you said: "Allah said: {I shall crucify you "in" (fi) the trunks of palm-trees} (20:71)." Have you not understood that placement in the sense of settledness (al-tamakkunu al-istiqrārī) definitely takes place on the crucifixion trees? So the placement of the crucified on the tree-trunk [62] is like a circumstancial placement (katamakkun al-kā'in fīl-zarf).356 The same rule applies to the saying of Allah : {Do but travel "in" the earth} (3:137,

What we have mentioned so far is a reply to the hadith of the mountain goats,357 the hadith of the seizure of the soul,358 and the hadīth of 'Abd Allāh ibn Rawāḥa 💩. 359

117

³⁵⁶ I.e. it can never be compared with a Divine Attribute.

³⁵⁷ See above, §83-87, 102-103, 112.

^{358 &}quot;[...] The soul exits [the body] then is taken up to heaven and its gates are opened for it [...] until it ends up in the heaven where Allāh is (al-samā al-latī fīhā Allāh)." Narrated from Abū Hurayra by Ibn Mājah and Ahmad with a sound chain. Cited in Ibn Taymiyya,

³⁵⁹ A dubious report adduced by Ibn Taymiyya in his Hamawiyya (p. 227) that the Companion 'Abd Allāh ibn Rawāḥa 🕳 pretended reciting to his wife, as if from the Qur'ān, the poetic verses: "I bear witness that the promise of Allah is true and that the Fire is the abode of the disbelievers / and that the Throne hovers on top of the water and on top of the Throne the Lord of the worlds." Then the Prophet # supposedly heard of it and approved. Narrated by Ibn 'Asākir (28:112-115) with weak, broken (munqaṭi') chains missing up to three links and/or containing liars or raconteurs (ikhbārī) cf. al-Dhahabī in his 'Uluw (Saqqaf ed. p. 202 §64=p. 42; not found in Mukhtaşar al-'Uluw) and Siyar (Risāla ed. 1:238) while Ibn 'Abd al-Barr cites it without chain in al-Istī āb (3:900-901=2:296) as well as Ibn Qudāma in al-Mughnī (9:314, 10:411) and al- Uluw (p. 145-150) and Ibn al-Qayyim in his apology of anthropomorphism entitled Ijtimā' al-Juyūsh al-Islāmiyya (p. 121-122). Al-Dāraqutnī's version in his Sunan (1:121) does not contain any of the above wording nor does Ibn al-Jawzi's in al-Adhkyā'. See also al-Kawthari's comments in his marginalia on al-Sayf al-Şaqīl (p. 125).

As for the report of Umayya ibn Abī Ṣalt and what he said in poetic verses:

Give laud to Allāh for He deserves laud! Our Lord is in the heaven ever magnified!

(Majjidū-l-Lāha fahwa lil-majdi ahlu Rabbunā fīl-samā'i amsā kabīrā)³⁶⁰

Our answer to the impostor is: If you narrate the above only up to "is in the heaven" without following up with "ever magnified," then perhaps it will suggest exactly what you are claiming – except that both the meter and the rhyme will disappear! Therefore, since Umayya said "Our Lord is in the heaven ever magnified," say, also, just what he said. In the latter case, one cannot tell whether it is as you said or rather as he said, namely, that Allāh is truly magnified in the heaven.

Now, if you say: "He is also magnified on earth, so why was the heaven singled out?" We reply: It is a kind of emphasis to which we have already referred.³⁶¹ Its meaning is that the glorification of the inhabitants of the heaven is greater than that

³⁶⁰ Narrated without chain higher than al-Aṣma'ī (fl. 216) by Ibn 'Asākir (9:277) although Ibn Taymiyya in the Ḥamawiyya (p. 228-229) attempts to concatenate it with the sound narration from al-Sharīd ibn Suwayd in Muslim that Sharīd recited to the Prophet up to one hundred lines of poetry by Umayya. Ibn Ḥajar said in al-Iṣāba (1:133 §549): "There is no contest among the authorities in history that Umayya ibn Abī Ṣalt died an unbeliever." Ibn al-'Arabī said in 'Āriḍat al-Aḥwadhī (2:235): "They say: 'What about Umayya ibn Abī al-Ṣalt who said: "Glory to Him Whom creatures are unable to know in the way He deserves to be known, Who is on His Throne, One and One Alone, Sovereign and Possessor over the Throne of Heaven, unto Whose Majesty faces are humbled and prostrate?" and he had read the Torah, the Bible, and the Psalms.' We say: It is just like you and your ignorance to cite as proof, first Pharaoh, then the discourse of a pre-Islamic Arab supported by the Torah and the Bible, which have been distorted and changed! And of all of the creation of Allāh, the Jews are the most expert in disbelief and in likening Allāh to creation."

³⁶¹ See above, §80-81.

of those on earth. For there is none among the angels who makes sculptures out of stone for worship, nor are there any perennialists (dahriyya) among them, nor nullifiers-of-the-Attributes (mu'aṭṭila), nor anthropomorphists.

Umayya was addressing the Arab pagans who had taken Hubal, Manāt, al-Lāt, al-'Uzzā, and other deities for worship, and the same Arabs knew that the inhabitants of the heaven were more knowledgeable than them. They even held in authority the utterances of the oracle who would seize from the *jinn* whatever news the latter pilfered from the angels, to which the oracle would add a hundred lies. Therefore, their belief in the angels goes without saying. This is not far-fetched nor is there any other definitive explanation of the poetic verse. ³⁶²

[63] Then he said: "It must be obligatorily known that the Prophet , who is conveying the call on behalf of Allāh, has imparted to his Community – who are summoned [to that call] – that Allāh is is on the Throne and that He is above the heaven."

³⁶² There is also a relevant narration in Abū Nuʿaym, *Dalāʾil al-Nubuwwa* (p. 376-379 §275) containing the words: "Allāh – in the heaven is His Throne and on earth His dominion [...]"

 $^{^{363}}$ Ḥamawiyya (p. 231) = Majmūʻ al-Fatāwā (5:15). This claim comes straight from 'Uthmān ibn Saʻīd al-Dārimī's (d. 280) book against the Jahmiyya as shown in the following note.

³⁶⁴ Al-Dhahabī reiterated this position in the *Siyar*: "In his book *al-Naqd* he ['Uthmān ibn Sa'id al-Dārimī] said: "The Muslims all agree that Allāh is above His Throne, above His heavens.' I say: The clearest thing on this topic is the saying of Allāh: {*The Merciful established Himself over the Throne*} (20:5). Therefore, let it pass as it came, just as we learned to do from the school of *Salaf*." *Siyar* (10:643).

As for the reports to which this impostor is referring, they are solitary reports (āḥād) which do not command the authenticating authority of a massive gathering of narrators. There is no proof for him in such reports. This is very clear to whoever has heard the Prophet's words and construes them according to Arabic usage and linguistic precedents, without introducing foreign elements into them.

Then you said: "Just as Allāh has created innocent the totality of nations, both Arabs and non-Arabs, in the time of Ignorance and in Islām, except those whom the devils seduced away from innocence." This talk is objectionable from beginning to end because it is tendentious and insidious. 367

Then you said: "The *Salaf* have spoken, concerning this, what amounts to hundreds or thousands of statements if I were to gather them." We reply: If you mean by *Salaf* the predecessors of those who liken Allāh to creation – as shown further in your discourse – then perhaps this is the case. But if by *Salaf* you mean the pious Predecessors of this Community, then no, not one letter nor the tip of a letter! We are going to follow your trail, passage by passage, topic by topic, with the Help of Allāh and His Might.

Then you said: "There is not, in the Book of Allāh, nor in the Sunna of His Messenger , nor in the reports from any of the Salaf of the Community – whether the Companions or the Successors – a single letter that contradicts this, neither as an explicit text (nass), nor as a literal one (zāhir)." 369

127

128

³⁶⁵ Cf. "Lone-Narrator Reports" in volume I of our Sunna Notes.

³⁶⁶ Ḥamawiyya (p. 231-232) = Majmūʻ al-Fatāwā (5:15).

 $^{^{367}}$ i.e. these are loaded terms by which Ibn Taymiyya depicts himself in optimal terms while demonizing those who contradict him.

³⁶⁸ Ḥamawiyya (p. 232) = Majmū ʻal-Fatāwā (5:15).

³⁶⁹ Ibid.

We reply: What you are claiming is not found anywhere in them, whether as an explicit text or a literal one.

You had begun by saying that you are merely repeating what Allāh , His Prophet , and the First and Foremost among the Emigrants and Helpers said. Then it became apparent that what you meant by "the First and Foremost among the Emigrant and Helpers" was the teachers of your doctrine. So you have divested the Ten [who were promised Paradise] and the veterans of Badr [64] and al-Ḥudaybiya from their foremostness as well as the Successors from their Successorship! Yet no less than Allāh has taken them all as Friends. [Allāh knows best with whom to place His Message] (6:124).

Then you said: "None of them ever said that Allāh is not in the heaven (fīl-samā'), nor that He is not on the Throne ('alā al-'arsh), nor that He is in every place, nor that all places are the same in relation to Him, 371 nor that He is 'neither inside the

370 See above, §39 and §110.

The belief of the *Ḥashwiyya* is that the greater the altitude, the nearer one is to Allāh. 'Uthmān ibn Sa'īd al-Dārimī al-Sijzī (d. 280) said in his Naqd al-Jahmiyya (Cairo, 1361/1942 p. 100): "Who told you that the top of the mountain is not closer to Allah than its bottom? [...] The top of the minaret is closer to Allah than its bottom." Al-Kawthari wrote in his Maqālāt (p. 314) "According to the author the tall man is closer to Allāh than the short one, and so is the one who flies a plane in comparison to those on the ground. The nearest to Him would then be the astronauts. However, this is contrary to the teaching of our religion, whereby the servant of Allāh is closest to Him when in prostration." Al-Ash ari said: "He is above the Throne and the Heavens and above everything to the limits of the earth with an aboveness which does not bring Him nearer to the Throne and the Heavens, just as it does not make Him further from the earth. Rather, He is Highly Exalted above the Throne and the Heavens, just as He is Highly Exalted above the earth. Yet He is near to every entity and is nearer to [the worshipper] than his jugular vein and He witnesses everything." Al-Ash 'arī, al-Ibāna, (Maḥmūd ed. 2:21= Ṣabbāgh ed. p. 35). This passage is missing in its entirety from the original 1321/1903 Hyderabad edition and the 'Uyun edition. The same meaning is reported from Imam Aḥmad. Abu al-Faḍl al-Tamīmī related that Imām Aḥmad said: "Allāh is ever Exalted ('ālī) and Elevated (rafi') without beginning, before He created the Throne. He is above everything (huwa fawqa kulli shay'), and He is exalted over everything (huwa al-'ālī 'alā kulli shay'). He only specified the Throne because of its particular significance which makes it

world nor outside it nor connected (muṭṭaṣil) nor separate (munfaṣil)."372

We reply: you have overreached yourself in this claim and said something that lies beyond the compass of your knowledge. We have already mentioned to you sufficient material in the reports from Ja far al-Ṣādiq, al-Junayd, al-Shiblī, Ja far ibn Nuṣayr, and Abū 'Uthmān al-Maghribī ... 373 If you cast aspersions on the veracity of our transmissions or on these Masters, then we also cast aspersions on the veracity of your transmissions, especially those reported from persons known to support your doctrine. For no one besides them supports your doctrine.

Furthermore, it is you who have said what Allāh is never said, nor His Messenger, nor the First and Foremost among the Emigrant and Helpers, nor the Successors, nor the Teachers of the Community, who do not come up with fancies. None of them uttered one letter saying that Allāh is in the direction of height. You have said and declared and discussed and understood that whatever was found to the effect that He is "in the heaven," "above the heaven," "on the Throne," and "above the Throne," actually all means the direction of height! Tell us, who ever said such a thing? Did Allāh is say it, or His Prophet in the First and Foremost, or the excellent Successors? Then why do you try to intimidate us with gibberish? In Allāh is our Help!

different from everything else, as the Throne is the best of all things and the most elevated of them. Allāh therefore praised Himself by saying that {He established Himself over the Throne} (20:4), that is, He exalted Himself over it ('alayhi 'alā). It is impermissible to say that He established Himself with a contact or a meeting with it. Exalted is Allāh above that! Allāh is not subject to change, substitution, nor limits, whether before or after the creation of the Throne." Ibn Abī Ya'lā, Tabaqāt al-Ḥanābila (2:296-297).

132

³⁷² Ḥamawiyya (p. 232-233) = Majmū' al-Fatāwā (5:15).

³⁷³ See above, §25-34.

³⁷⁴ See above, §96.

134

135

Then he produced as proof for the permissibility of sensory signaling (al-ishāra al-hissiyya) towards Allāh with fingers and the like, the sound report of the Prophet's words in the 'Arafāt sermon: "Have I not conveyed the Message?" To which they replied yes; whereupon he raised [65] his finger toward the heaven then pointed it at them saying: "O Allāh! Bear witness," and he did so more than once. 375

But how does this ever prove that it is permissible to point to Him? Was anything reported from the Prophet other than that he raised his finger and then pointed it at them? Is there in this any proof that when he raised his finger he was indicating the direction of Allāh with it? To claim so only shows the extent to which talk about direction has seized hold of this man's mind. It has reached a point where, if he hears some difficult question about the laws of inheritance, or wills, or the rulings concerning menses, he will say: "This indicates direction!"

³⁷⁵ Narrated from Jābir by Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, and Ibn Mājah. Ḥamawiyya (p. 233) = Majmūʿ al-Fatāwā (5:15). "He meant by this to take Allāh to witness over [the acknowledgment of] the people." Ibn al-Athīr, al-Nihāya (5:111). This is similar to the moving of the forefinger towards the Kaʿba in tashahhud in which the Muslim "proclaims tawhīd with his hand, his tongue, and his heart" (al-Nawawī). Other versions from Abū Bakrah al-Thaqafī, Ibn 'Umar, Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, Ibn Masʿūd, Jābir, Abū Ghādiya, and others in the Ṣaḥiḥayn, Sunan, and Aḥmad omit mention of the raising of the finger toward the heaven.



His Rethoric Against the Mutakallimūn

Then he committed his foulest enormity and darkest deed yet. He said:

136

If the truth really is what those aforementioned deniers³⁷⁶ are saying, who use those expressions and similar ones³⁷⁷ quite apart from what is understood from the Qur'ān and Sunna explicitly or literally, then how can it be possible for Allāh, for His Prophet , and for the Elite of the Community to speak constantly in explicit and literal utterances that contradict the truth? How can they not ever disclose the truth in which it is obligatory to believe, nor ever point to it, neither explicitly nor literally? How can they leave it to the Nabateans among the Persians and Byzantines and to the seedlings of the Hindus³⁷⁸ to expound true Islamic doctrine for the

³⁷⁶ I.e. the scholars of *kalām*. Ibn Taymiyya imitated Ibn Ḥazm in deliberately conflating the Ash arīs with non-Sunnis and non-Muslims as we pointed out (n. 220, 315 and 343).

³⁷⁸ The Tuwayjiri edition of the *Hamawiyya* has "the Jews" instead of "the Hindus" but does have Ibn Taymiyya's comparison of the Muslim theologians to "the Hindus and Greeks, the heirs of the Zoroastrians and pagans, the wayward Jews and Christians, the

benefit of the Community and represent it as the belief that is obligatory for every legally responsible and wise person?

Truly, if this were the case, then obligatory belief would be what those artificious scholars of kalām say, who became the slaves of their minds, and the habitual rejection, on the basis of their rational guidelines, of whatever the Book and the Sunna show explicitly or literally. In that case it would be preferable to leave the people without the Book or the Sunna! That would be of greater guidance and benefit to them in such a scenario. Nay, the mere existence of the Book and the Sunna would be a source of pure harm [66] in the foundations of the Religion! For the truth of the matter, according to what they say, would be thus: "O host of the servants of Allāh! Do not seek to know Allāh Almighty, nor whatever behooves Him of Attributes - those He may not possess and those He must possess - from the Book and the Sunna and the Predecessors of the Community. Rather, see for yourselves. Then, whatever you find unsuitable for Him according to your wits, do not describe Him as such."379

137 Then he said:

They are two parties. Most of them say: "Whatever your minds cannot prove firmly, deny it!" while some of them say: "Neither confirm nor deny it." They say: "Whatever the guideline (qiyās) of your minds rejects and {over which you

Sabeans, and their likes [...] the Brahmans, the philosophers – the pagan ones, the Zoroastrians, and some of the Sabeans" elsewhere (p. 214-215 and 237). These passages are typical blind defamations of the Muslim scholars who contradict Ibn Taymiyya in doctrine, specifically Ash'arīs such as al-Rāzī and Ibn al-Juwaynī then, more generally, non-literalist or anti-literalist scholars of *kalām* including the Māturīdīs and Mu'tazilīs. In the next section he assimilates them to the Christians.

are in disagreement} 380 and disquiet among yourselves - more than any other disagreement on the face of the earth - then deny it. Always refer to the guideline of your minds in the Lawgiver's presence, for verily that is the Truth wherewith I chose that you should worship Me. 381 Whatever is mentioned in the Book and Sunna in contradiction of that guideline of yours, or in affirmation of something your minds are unable to grasp - as applies with most of them - then know that I am testing you by revealing it to you. This is not in order that you take guidance from it, but so that you should exert yourselves in elucidating it in the light of linguistic oddities and outlandish terms and rarities of speech, without resigning (mufawwidīn) knowledge of it to Me <and, at the same time, negate that it signifies anything in connection to the Attributes>." And that is the truth of the matter concerning the stance of the scholars of kalām. 382

That is what he said, in the place where he fell into a fit and {the devil prostrated him by his touch} (2:275).

³⁸⁰ An implicit comparison to the Christians (cf. Qur'an 3:55, 5:48, 8:165, 16:92, 22:69, 43:63), as is the phrase "more than any other disagreement on the face of the earth." 381 At this point the text shifts to free indirect discourse.

³⁸² Ḥamawiyya (p. 236) = Majmūʻ al-Fatāwā (5:17). Ibn Jahbal omitted the bracketed segment but the meaning is clear: to Ibn Taymiyya, anyone who resigns the meaning of the Attributes to Allah Most High without understanding them according to externalities is a nullifier (mu'aṭṭil). He intensifies the detraction of the scholars of kalām to comic excess: They resemble everything except Muslims ("Nabateans", "Greeks", "Hindus", "Zoroastrians"), are the most divided sect in existence ("more than any other disagreement on the face of the earth"), are dull-witted for the most part ("as applies with most of them"), and both pedantic ("linguistic oddities and outlandish terms") and presumptuous ("without resigning knowledge of it to Me"), and have replaced the Qur'an and Sunna with their minds. The Ash ari School after Ibn Taymiyya threw most of this elaborate



The Absurdity of His Literalism

We say to him: What do you say concerning the mention of the "several eyes" (a'yun),³⁸³ the mention of the "flank" (janb),³⁸⁴ the

138

383 [Build the ship under Our Eyes and by Our inspiration] (11:37); [Make the ship under Our eyes and Our inspiration (23:27); [Surely you are before Our Eyes] (52:48); [That sailed before Our Eyes} (54:14). Cf. 'Ala' al-Din al-Bukhari's commentary on al-Pazdawi's Kashf al-Asrār (1:60): "Allāh is described with the Attribute of Face and that of Hand, together with the upholding of His Transcendence (tanzīh) beyond having a form (sūra) and a limb (jāriḥa)." Also: Al-Bayhaqī: "The meaning of 'The All-Seeing' (al-Baṣīr) is He Who perceives the objects and colors which creatures perceive with their sights, without His having the organ of eye." Al-Asmā' wal-Ṣifāt (al-Kawtharī ed. p. 45; Ḥāshidī ed. 1:122-123). Al-Ghazzālī: "He sees without pupil or eyelids" as quoted in the Reliance of the Traveller (p. 820). Al-Qurtubi: "We know from the saying of Allah {and there is nothing whatsoever like Him] (42:11) that His Eyes do not consist in pupils." Al-Asnā fī Sharḥ Asmā' Allāh al-Ḥusnā (2:79). Al-Qurṭubī's "Salafī" editor comments: "Rather, we assert two eyes for Allah without saying how, and this is the doctrine of the Salaf!" The doctrine of the "two eyes" is also asserted by Ibn 'Uthaymīn in his commentary on Ibn Taymiyya's al-Wāsiṭiyya. On the contrary, the Salaf let the verses pass according to their actual wordings without altering them, in this case, to read "two eyes." Al-Khaṭīb said: "As for what pertains to the Divine Attributes, whatever is narrated in the books of sound reports concerning them, the position of the Salaf consists in their affirmation and letting them pass according to their external wordings while negating from them modality (kayfiyya) and likeness to things created (tashbīh) [...]. We do not say that they are organs (lā naqulu innahā jawāriḥ)." Narrated by al-Dhahabī with his chain from Muhammad ibn Marzūq al-Za'farānī in Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā' (13:598) and Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz (3:1142-1143) from al-Khaṭīb's epistle al-Ṣifāt. We quoted something similar from al-Baghawi's Sharh al-Sunna in our note on tafwid (supra, note 11). Ibn Ḥazm said, "To say that He has two eyes is null and void and part of the belief of anthropomor-

mention of the single "shin" (sāq),385 and the mention of the

phists [...]." Ibn Ḥazm, al-Fiṣal fīl-Milal (2:166). Today's anthropomorphists continue to insist on the attribution of two eyes without proof, adducing the Prophet's statement, "The Antichrist (al-dajjāl) is one-eyed whereas your Lord is not one-eyed" [Narrated from Ibn 'Umar in al-Bukhārī, Muslim, and the Sunan], but ignoring or pretending to ignore that Ahl al-Sunna explained this statement metaphorically to mean that Allāh si is exempt of defects and of the attributes of creatures while the Antichrist is both created and imperfect cf. Ibn Ḥajar, Fatḥ al-Bārī and al-Nawawī, Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim. Ibn al-Jawzī said of the anthropomorphists: "They affirm that Allāh has a form and a face in addition to His Essence, two eyes, a mouth, a uvula, molar teeth, a physiognomy, two hands, fingers, a palm, a little finger, a thumb, a chest, thighs, two legs, and two feet." Daf

Shubah al-Tashbih (beginning).

384 {Alas, my grief that I was unmindful of the side of Allāh} (39:56). Al-Bayhaqī in al-Asmā' wal-Şifāt (2:209 §772) narrates with a sound chain from Mujāhid the explanation of this verse as: "What I wasted of His commands." Al-Bukhārī cited this explanation in his Ṣaḥīḥ in the book of Janā'iz, chapter on the merit of following a funeral. It is also the explanation given for janb ("flank" or "side") by al-Rāghib al-Aṣfahānī in Mufradāt Alfāz al-Quran. Al-Dhahabi in the Siyar (13:368-369 §3988) criticized the anthropomorphic understanding of the Mālikī Abū 'Umar al-Talamankī (d. 429) who mentioned the verse in a chapter named "The Side of Allah" in his book on doctrine: "I saw a book of his on the Sunna in two volumes, most of which is good, but in some chapters is found what none would ever agree with, for example: 'Chapter on the Side of Allah' in which he mentioned: {Alas, my grief that I was unmindful of the side of Allāh}. This is a scholar's lapse!" The latter phrase alludes to a hadith narrated from Abu al-Darda' whereby the Prophet # said: "I fear three things for my Community most of all: the lapse of the scholar, the disputation of a hypocrite about the Qur'an, and those who deny Divine Foreordained Destiny." Al-Haythamī said in Majma' al-Zawā'id: "Al-Ţabarānī narrates it in al-Kabir but its chain contains Mu'awiya ibn Yahyā al-Sadafī, who is weak." There are several other weak narrations for this hadith. In the year 425 fifteen jurists witnessed against al-Talamankī that he was a Khārijī. He was saved from execution in extremis by the Qadī of Saragossa and died four years later. Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz (3:1099).

385 Cf. the Qur'anic verse {The Day that the shin shall be bared} (68:42). Ibn 'Abbas explained: "This is a day of affliction and hardship" and in another version: "It means the Day of Resurrection due to its hardship." Narrated by al-Tabarī in his Tafsīr (28:38-42), al-Ḥākim (2:499-500 isnād ṣaḥīḥ=1990 ed. 2:542), al-Bayhaqī in al-Asmā' wal-Ṣifāt (Kawtharī ed. p. 345-346=Ḥāshidī ed. 2:183-185 \$746-748) with two fair chains and one sound chain according to Ibn Ḥajar in Fath al-Bārī (1959 ed. 13:428), Ibn Ḥibbān (16:382) with a fair chain according to al-Arna'ūt, al-Qurtubī (18:248-249), al-Ṣan'ānī (3:310) and al-Shawkānī (5:275-278) and in the Tafsīrs. Cf. Pickthall's ad sensum translation: "On the day when affliction befalls them in earnest." Ibn Qutayba in Mukhtalif al-Hadīth states that the baring of the shin is a metonymy for travails in which one hitches up one's lower garments, baring the legs. Ibn al-Jawzī in Daf Shubah al-Tashbīh (p. 15) and Zād al-Masīr (8:341) cites Ibn Qutayba and relates from Ibn 'Abbās, Mujāhid, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, Qatāda, "and the vast majority of the scholars," the same meaning.

"several hands" (aydī)?³⁸⁶ If we take these literally then we must affirm a being that has one face with many eyes, a single side, many hands, and a single shin! What being on earth [67] is possibly uglier? And if you take the liberty of interpreting this and that to be dual or singular, then why does Allāh in not mention it, nor the Prophet in, nor the Salaf of the Community?

Concerning the saying of Allāh in the glorious Book, {Allāh is the Light of the heavens and the earth} (24:35): every reasonable person knows that the light which is seen on walls, roofs, roads, and courtyards, is not Allāh . Even the Zoroastrians never claimed such a thing. If you now take it to mean that Allāh is actually the Bringer of guidance and light to the heavens and the earth, then why does not Allāh say so, nor His Prophet nor the Salaf of the Community?

There is also His saying, {We are nearer to him than his jugular vein} (50:16) which [taken literally] would require that Allāh be located inside the epiglottis! So why does Allāh not explain it, nor His Prophet and nor the Salaf of the Community?

Cf. al-Qushayrī in Laṭā'if al-Ishārāt (6:189), Ibn Fūrak in Mushkal al-Ḥadīth (p. 442), al-Khaṭṭābī, Ibn Baṭṭāl, al-Rāzī, Ibn Ḥazm in al-Fiṣal (2:129), Abū al-Su'ūd in his Tafsīr (9:18), al-Bayḍāwī in his, Ibn Kathīr in his (4:408-409), al-Wāḥidī in his (2:1124), Jalālayn (p. 760), al-Suyūṭī in al-Durr al-Manthūr (8:254-256), al-Karmī al-Ḥanbalī in Aqāwīl al-Thiqāt (p. 174), al-Zarkashī in al-Burhān (2:84) who cites it (2:179) as an example of a metaphor which it is extremely offensive to interpret literally, and others. Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Salām's commentary on the meaning of this verse in al-Ishāra ilā al-Ījāz fī Ba'd Anwā' al-Majāz: "A metaphor for His aggravation of the judgment of His enemies and their humiliation, defeat, and punishment. The Arabs say of one that acts earnestly and intensely that 'he has bared his shin.'" This explanation applies to the hadīth of Abū Hurayra and Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī on the sight of Allāh in al-Bukhārī and Muslim. When Sa'īd ibn Jubayr (d. 94) was asked about it he became very angry and said: "Some people claim that 'Allāh uncovers His Shin'!! Rather, He but uncovers affliction and hardship." Narrated by 'Abd ibn Ḥumayd in his Musnad and Ibn al-Mundhir as cited by al-Suyūṭī in al-Durr al-Manthūr (8:255).

386 {Among the things which Our Hands have fashioned} (36:71); {We have built the heaven with Hands} (51:47). "Hands" (ayd) signifies strength as in Lisān al-'Arab, Mukhtār al-Siḥāḥ, Mufradāt Alfāz al-Qurān, and al-Nihāya. See "The 'Hand' of Allāh" in Sunna Notes.

also said, {But prostrate yourself and draw near (unto (96:19). It is known that "drawing near," direction-wise, is ough other than distance. Why then did Allāh not exnor His Prophet, nor the Salaf of the Community? as also said, {Wheresoever you turn, there is the counterf Allāh} (2:115), {And your Lord shall arrive} (89:22), isited their building at the foundations} (16:26), and {Neverthere unto them a new reminder from their Lord} (21:2). And the Prophet said, reporting from his Lord: "Whomes near Me one hand-span (shibran) I come near him it (dhirā'an). If he comes near Me one cubit I come near arm's length (bā'an). If he comes to Me walking, I come running." He also said, as authentically related in the "I find the breath (nafas) of the Merciful coming from 388 Also among his sayings : "The Black Stone is the

l from Abū Hurayra and Anas by al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Mājah, d: "I am as My servant thinks of Me, and I sit with him when he remembers mentions Me in himself I mention him in Myself. If he mentions Me in a I mention him in a better gathering. If he comes near Me one hand-span come near him one cubit (dhirā'an). If he comes near Me one cubit I come n arm's length (bā'an). If he comes to Me walking, I come to him running." ii said: "Meaning, with forgiveness and mercy." Al-Bayhaqi in al-Asma' walhari ed. p. 286; Ḥāshidī ed. 2:53-54): "As for the two instances of coming near," ant by them is to express the swiftness of the response and forgiveness of e narrated from Qatāda." Al-Bājī in al-Muntaqā (1:357): "He did not mean by a coming-near in terms of distance, for such is impossible and inexistent. All ras the servant's coming-near in terms of good works, and the coming-near of ms of answer and acceptance. In the same sense one says 'So-and-so is near and they say of the leader 'He is near his people' if he helps them a lot and hem. This is well-known in the language of the Arabs." Al-Nawawi in Sharh im (17:3-4): "Its meaning is, 'Whoever comes near Me with obedience to Me, I him with My mercy, success, and help, and if he does more, I do more. If he ting and hastens to obey Me, I come running, that is, I pour mercy on him ke him so that I do not make him need to walk much in order to attain his nessage is that His reward is many times over proportional to one's coming

l from Salama ibn Nufayl by al-Bukhārī in his *Tārīkh al-Kabīr* (4:70 §1990), alals *Musnad* (9:150 §3702), and al-Ṭabarānī in *al-Kabīr* (7:52); also narrated right hand on his Lord: "I with all the attributes a

outward me number of t Therefore morphism,

morphism, shows other Prophet 38, 1

with the words " a strong chain an a chain of trustw wal-Mathānī (4:2 Another report st Narrated from U \$10771-10772) ar declared it sahih explained the terr Mukhtalaf al-Haa wa-Bayanuh (198. 389 Narrated from Musnad, al-Tabai (15:90-92), al-Kha Ibn al-Jawzi and (5:321-323 §949). narrated by al-Qu the Right Hand of 蹇. Ibn al-Dayba' mawqūf. Ibn Quta said that it was a s is the depository (alastu bi-rabbikur al-Hākim, who de authentic narratio on the Day of Res Hibban (§3711-37 390 Narrated from 1 in al-Zuhd (p. 68),

144

right hand of Allāh on earth."³⁸⁹ He also said, reporting from his Lord: "I sit with him who remembers Me."³⁹⁰

With all the above [texts], do you feel secure that the one who attributes a body to Allāh & will not tell you, "[Texts with] these outward meanings are in countless abundance, many times the number of the narrations that pertain to direction"?

Therefore, if it is really the case that there is no anthropomorphism, although nothing in all this evidence apparently shows otherwise – not on the part of Allāh , nor on that of the Prophet , nor on that of the Salaf – then the anthropomorphist

with the words "your Lord" instead of "the Merciful" from Abū Hurayra by Ahmad with a strong chain and al-Ṭabarānī in Musnad al-Shāmiyyīn (2:149 §1083) and al-Awsaṭ with a chain of trustworthy narrators per al-Haythamī (10:56) and Ibn Abī 'Āṣim in al-Āḥād wal-Mathānī (4:263). The Ulema saw in this narration a reference to Uways al-Qaranī. Another report states: "Do not curse the wind for it is part of the breath of the Merciful." Narrated from Ubay ibn Ka'b by Ibn Abī Shayba, al-Nasāʾī in al-Sunan al-Kubrā (6:232 §10771-10772) and 'Amal al-Yawm wal-Layla (p. 521), al-Ḥākim (1990 ed. 2:298) who declared it saḥīḥ, and al-Bayhaqī in the Shu'ab. Ibn Qutayba, Ibn Fūrak, and others explained the term "the Merciful's nafas" to mean his rescuing wind respectively in Ta'wīl Mukhtalaf al-Ḥadīth (1972 ed. p. 212=1995 Dār al-Fikr ed. p. 195) and Mushkal al-Ḥadīth wa-Bayānuh (1985 ed. p. 198).

389 Narrated from Ibn ʿAbbās, Jābir, Anas, and others by Ibn Abī ʿUmar al-Maʿdanī in his Musnad, al-Tabarānī, al-Suyūtī in al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaghīr (1:516 §3804-3805), Ibn 'Asākir (15:90-92), al-Khatīb in Tārīkh Baghdād (6:328), and others. It is considered forged by Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn 'Adī (al-Kāmil 1:342). Cf. al-Ahdab, Zawā'id Tārīkh Baghdād (5:321-323 §949). Al-'Ajlūnī stated it is sahīh as a halted report from Ibn 'Abbās as narrated by al-Quda i with the wording: "The Corner [of the Black Stone] (al-rukn) is the Right Hand of Allah on earth [...]," and declared it hasan as a hadith of the Prophet 🖔 Ibn al-Dayba' reports in Tamyīz al-Ţayyib (p. 65) that al-Sakhāwī graded it ṣaḥīḥ mawquf. Ibn Qutayba in Ta'wil Mukhtalif al-Hadith (1972 ed. p. 215=1995 ed. p. 198, 262) said that it was a saying of Ibn 'Abbas and relates a saying of 'Aisha that the Black Stone is the depository of the covenant of human souls with Allah & on the Day of Promise (alastu bi-rabbikum). Its mention in the Reliance of the Traveller (p. 853b) as "narrated by al-Hakim, who declared it sahāh, from 'Abd Allah ibn 'Amr," is incorrect. Note: An authentic narration states that the Black Stone shall appear with two eyes and a tongue on the Day of Resurrection. Narrated by al-Tirmidhi, Ibn Mājah, Aḥmad, al-Dārimi, Ibn Hibban (§3711-3712), and others.

³⁹⁰ Narrated from Ka'b al-Aḥbār from Mūsā www by Ibn Abī Shayba (1:108, 7:73), Aḥmad in al-Zuhd (p. 68), Abū Nu'aym (6:37-42), and al-Bayhaqī in Shu'ab al-Īmān (1:451).

will give you a dose of your own medicine and say to you, "If you are right, then people would be better guided without the Book or the Sunna!"

If you say, "What is generally established clearly shows meanings other than the outward meanings of the aforesaid texts," then we do not find, in what is generally established, anything that negates anthropomorphism except it also negates direction.

Further, do you feel secure that some reincarnationist (tanāsukhī) will not infer supporting evidence for his doctrine from the saying of Allāh , {Into whatsoever form He wills, He casts you} (82:8)? Do you feel secure that some nullifier (muʿaṭṭil) will not infer supporting evidence for what he wants from the saying of Allāh , {Of that which the earth grows} (2:61, 36:36)?³¹¹ In such cases, you would find no way out of that avalanche except through proofs obtained outside the wordings themselves. [69]

The upshot of your words is that the position of the Shāfi'īs, the Ḥanafīs, and the Mālikīs makes it inevitable that the people are better guided without the Book and without the Sunna. Do you think they will pronounce you an apostate for suggesting this?

146

³⁹¹ I.e. by saying that it is by necessity Allah Most High Who grows it and not the earth. This is correct, but could qualify as nullification of external meanings according to Ibn Taymiyya's method, and his mandatory acceptance of such interpretations could then allow nullifiers to interpret any other verse they wish figuratively, without rules.

His Calumnies Against the Sunnī Theologians

Then you misconstrued the sayings of the *mutakallimūn* as presupposing that Allāh , His Prophet , and the *Salaf* of the Community neglected the doctrine of Islām until those [mutakallimūn] came along and expounded it. Tell us, then, how did Allāh , His Prophet , and the *Salaf* expound it? Tell us exactly where they say, as you are saying, that "Allāh is in the upward direction, not downwards," and that it is permitted to point to Him with sensory gestures!

If you do not find this in the Book of Allāh , nor in the discourse of His Prophet , nor in that of any of the Ten [that were promised Paradise], nor in the discourse of any of the First and Foremost among the Emigrants and Helpers, then blame yourself in the strongest terms and say: "I have convicted the scholars through an inconclusive argument." And even if the argument were conclusive against them, you would be the first to stand convicted.

Then you claimed that the *mutakallimūn* say, "Whatever conforms to a rational criterion, affirm it; otherwise, deny it."

But they never said that. They only said that it is obligatory to affirm the Attribute of perfection for Allāh and that it is obligatory to negate any imperfection with regard to Him.

Just as Imām Aḥmad said, the [Ash'arī] Ulema said, "Whatever came from Allāh and His Messenger and, examine it in the light of the language of the Arabs, which Allāh sent forth Muḥammad speaking, as He said, {And we never sent a Messenger save with the language of his folk} (14:4). Therefore, whatever the Arabs understood, understand it also; and whoever comes your way bearing something different, toss out his words like an old shoe – into a ditch with the dry weeds."

If Allāh wills, we shall devote a separate section, after thwarting his satanic insinuations, to the context of revelation that applies to these verses according to the latter [linguistic] directive.

In truth, he has only snatched up all his insinuations against the Congregation of the Muslims and his defamations of the Community of Islām from the dregs of the atheists who attack the Qur'ān. We shall expose their heresy, if Allāh wills. It will be known, at that time, [70] exactly who is one of "the seedlings of the philosophers and the Hindus!"

Indeed, if that heedless person felt any shame, he would have known the status of the people of learning and knowledge in our Community – Allāh have mercy on them. Has he seen anyone else refute the philosophers, the Hindus [or: "the Jews"], the Christians, and the Persians, besides those very ones he calls their seedlings?

And did they ever rely, in their refutations of these sects, on a type of scholar that possesses no mind, no insight, and no understanding?³⁹² Did they ever put such scholars in charge of proving the existence of Allāh in debates with atheists merely

152

153

154

155

³⁹² A reference to literalist scholars of hadīth of which Ibn Taymiyya is the archetype.

157

158

159

through transmitted reports? Or [debating] those that deny Prophethood merely through transmitted reports, so that their adversaries pounce on them and devour them, scoff at them and deride them, and so that enemies might jeer, to the delight of enviers? There is a lesson for the wise in the story of al-Ḥasan ibn Ziyād al-Lu'lu'ī. 393

After this he turned to say that if [outward] meanings were precluded from generalities, they would become ambiguous proofs. We reply: this is just as the anthropomorphists would say to you: "Taking generalities as proofs for negating anthropomorphism is an invitation to double-entendre (*ilghāz*)!"

Then he went on to say, "O Glory to Allāh! Why did the Prophet so never say, even one day in his life, nor did any of the Salaf of our Community ever say: Do not believe in what these verses and ḥadīths indicate?"³⁹⁴

The reply to him is: And what, pray, are they indicating, so that they should say not to believe in it? This is the most disgraceful insinuation imaginable! Further, the anthropomorphist

³⁹³ Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn Zyād al-Lu'lu'ī al-Kūfī al-Anṣārī (d. 204), one of the major pious and learned Imams of figh who narrated from Abū Hanīfa cf. al-Kawthari's monograph al-Imtā' bi-Sīrat al-Imāmayn al-Hasan ibn Ziyād wa-Ṣāḥibihi Muḥammad ibn Shujā' and the end of his Ta'nīb al-Khatīb. The Shāfi'is relate that one of them asked him: "What if someone, while praying, falsely accuses a married woman of adultery?" Al-Lu'lu'i replied: "He must repeat his prayer." The Shāfi'ī asked: "What about his ablution?" Al-Lu'lu'ī said: "It is still valid." The Shāfi'ī said: "What if he bursts out laughing while in prayer?" Al-Lu'lu'i said: "He must repeat both his prayer and his ablution." The Shāfi'i said: "So the calumny of married women inside prayer is a lighter matter than laughing?" At this point al-Lu'lu'i stood up and left. Narrated by al-Bayhaqi in Fadā'il al-Shāfi' i (1:217) and Ibn al-Subkī in Tabaqāt al-Shāfi' iyya al-Kubrā (2:80). But the Hanafī position is taken from a Prophetic stipulation that wudū' is invalidated by uncontrolled laughter (qahqaha) inside prayer and - regardless of the grading of the gahgaha narration - stipulations connected with worship are beyond the province of analogy (cf. al-Lacknawi, al-Fawa'id al-Bahiyya p. 105- 106) by Consensus. The point Ibn Jahbal is making by citing this episode is that if even an Imam of figh such as al-Lu'lu'i can become tongue-tied in a debate, then a fortiori those untrained in other than hadīth narration. And Allāh knows best. ³⁹⁴ Ḥamawiyya (p. 240) = Majmū ʿal-Fatāwā (5:19).

can also ask you, "O Glory to Allāh! Why did the Prophet so never say, nor did any of the *Salaf* of our Community ever say that Allāh so is not a body?" Nor did they ever say: Do not believe the apparent meaning of the narrations that suggest anthropomorphism?"

[71] Then he invoked, as his proof, the saying of the Prophet in which he described the Saved Group as "Whoever clings to my present path and that of my Companions." The

395 Ibn Taymiyya would agree with the hypothetical anthropomorphist since he himself actually said in the book he wrote against Imam Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: "It is well-known that the Book, the Sunna, and the Consensus nowhere say that all bodies (ajsām) are created, and nowhere say that Allah Himself is not a body. None of the Imams of the Muslims ever said such a thing. Therefore, if I also choose not to say it, it does not expel me from religion nor from the Sharī'a." Ibn Taymiyya, al-Ta'sīs Radd Asās al-Taqdīs = Bayan Talbīs al-Jahmiyya (1:118) cf. Minhāj al-Sunna (Ed. Muhammad Rashād Sālim, Mu'assasat Qurtuba, 1986) 2:205. He also claims in the latter (2:220) that the first to say that Allah is not a body were the Jahmiyya and Mu'tazila. Al-Ash'arī in Magālāt al-Islāmiyyīn (p. 211) says precisely the contrary: "Ahl al-Sunna and the people of hadīth said that Allah 🍇 is not a body." Similarly al-Kalabadhi in al-Ta'arruf li-Madhhab al-Tasawwuf (p. 34-35). Ibn Taymiyya knows this cf. Minhāj (2:326): "Al-Ash' arī and his early disciples said [...] He is not a body." Al-Kawtharī in his Magālāt (p. 350-353) comments on the Ta'sis statement: "These words are complete impudence. What did he do with all the verses declaring Allah 🗯 to be far removed from anything like unto Him? Does he expect that the idiocy that every single idiot can come up with be addressed with a specific text? Is it not enough that Allah & said: {There is nothing whatsoever like Him} (42:11)? Or does he consider it permissible for someone to say: Allah see eats this, chews that, and tastes this, just because no text mentions the opposite? This is disbelief laid bare and pure anthropomorphism." In another passage of al-Ta'sīs (1:101) = Bayān Talbīs al-Jahmiyya (1:444) Ibn Taymiyya says: "You [Ash 'arīs] say that He is neither a body, nor an atom (jawhar), nor spatially bounded (mutahayyiz), and that He has no direction, and that He cannot be pointed to as an object of sensory perception, and that nothing of Him can be considered distinct from Him. You have asserted this on the grounds that Allah is neither divisible nor made of parts and that He has neither limit (hadd) nor end (ghāya), with your view thereby to forbid one to say that He has any limit or measure (qadr), or that He even has a dimension that is unlimited. But how do you allow yourselves to do this without evidence from the Book and the Sunna?" Al-Kawthari comments: "The reader's intelligence suffices to comment on these heretical statements. Can you imagine for an apostate to be more brazen than this, right in the midst of Muslim society?" See also n. 127 and 209.

396 A sound narration from 'Abd Allah ibn 'Amr by al-Tirmidhi (hasan gharib),

impostor said: "Why did he not say: 'Whoever clings to the literal meaning of the Qur'ān concerning the verses of Islamic Doctrine, he is misguided; your only guidance is to refer to the criteria of your minds'?" 397

Let the observer take note of his embellished calumny and deluded harping. For it is established beyond doubt that the way of the Prophet and his Companions is the suspension (kaff) of such [explications], nor do we pursue them. It is he who does not keep silent because his method is kalām³⁹⁸ and the pursuit of disaster by attempting to describe Allāh with directional upwardness and allowing that He be pointed to with sensory gestures. I truly wonder, then, exactly who is in conformity with the Prophet and his Companions. The poet spoke true who said, "She shot me with her bane and slinked away."

Further, an anthropomorphist can put to him the very same question that he put to us, word for word.

We can ask him: Why did not the Messenger of Allāh say: "Salvation consists in saying that Allāh is in the upward direction and that it is permissible to point to Him with sensory gestures?" If he claims, "But this is the way of the Salaf and the Companions," we reply: How did you reach this conclusion? Moreover, every innovating heretic can make the same claim.

Muhammad ibn Naşr al-Marwazī in al-Sunna (p. 23), Ibn 'Asākir, Abū Nu'aym in Ma'rifat al-Ṣaḥāba, al-Ṭabarānī in al-Ṣaḥār, and al-Ḥākim (1:129=1990 ed. 1:218), with chains containing 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ziyād al-Ifrīqī, who was declared weak by some but fair in his narrations by others, and from Anas by al-Ṭabarānī in al-Awsaṭ. Al-Lālikā'ī declared this ḥadīth sound (saḥīḥ) in his Sharḥ Uṣūl I' tiqād Ahl al-Sunna (1:100) and it was included – with its variant versions – by al-Kattānī in his Nazm al-Mutanāthir (p. 45-47) and Ibn al-Athīr in Jāmi' al-Uṣūl (10:408).

162

³⁹⁷ Ḥamawiyya (p. 242-243) = Majmūʻ al-Fatāwā (5:20).

³⁹⁸ Ibn Daqīq al-'Id squarely described Ibn Taymiyya as a person who loves to talk, literally "he loves kalām" cf. note 27 above.



His Attribution of Unbelief and Heresy to the Ulema

Then the impostor claimed to trace this doctrine [Ash'arism] back – he said – to the disciples of the Jews, the pagans, and "the wayward among the Sabeans"! He said:

164

The first one on record to formulate this teaching is al-Ja'd ibn Dirham, from whom Jahm [72] ibn Ṣafwān took it then disseminated it, whereupon the doctrine received the name of the Jahmiyya. Al-Ja'd himself had taken it from Abān ibn Sim'ān, who took it from Ṭālūṭ the maternal nephew of Labīd ibn al-Aṣ'am, from whom Ṭālūṭ took it. Labīd is the Jew who cast a spell on the Prophet . They say that al-Ja'd came from Ḥarrān.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁹ Ḥamawiyya (p. 243-246) = Majmūʿ al-Fatāwā (5:20-21). Actually Jaʿd was the first to claim that the Qurʾān was created cf. Ibn Kathīr, Bidāya (9:382, 10:21), which has nothing to do with the discussion at hand but typifies Ibn Taymiyya's name-calling rhetoric. He and those who follow him apply this pseudo-genealogical construction to the Ashʿarīs and the Jahmīs interchangeably in fluid fashion. Another way in which they typically misrepresent the Ashʿarīs is by mixing together Ashʿarī and other positions indistinctly cf. his phrase "nor that He is in every place" (§131): the Ashʿarīs deny that Allāh is on the Throne or in the heaven in the anthropomorphic sense but the doctrine that "He is everywhere" has nothing to do with them and is a purely Jahmī claim. As a polemicist Ibn

- The answer for him is: O you who claim that this doctrine is taken from the disciples of the Jews! In doing so, you have contradicted what must be known obligatorily by the Muslims. It is no secret to the elite in its entirety, and to many of the general public, that the Jews are anthropomorphists who liken Allāh to creation and that the root of idol worship is anthropomorphism. How then can the negation of anthropomorphism be attributed to Jews?
- As for the pagans, they worshipped idols, and the Imāms have demonstrated that idol worshippers are the pupils of those who liken Allāh to creation, and that the root of idol worship is *tashbīh*. How then can the negation of *tashbīh* be taken from the pagans?
- As for the Sabeans, their country or area of geographical origin is well-known. Do we come from there? Do our opponents?
- As for Ja'd ibn Dirham being from Ḥarrān, 400 this origin is correct. As for the sequencing of this chain of transmission he cited, then Allāh shall ask him about it. Allāh is in the watchtower seeing all he does! (Allāhu min warā'ihī bil-mirsād).
- Would that he went on to cite the chain of transmission for his claim and his belief also namely, that Pharaoh held Mūsā's God to be in the sky. 401

Taymiyya's goal is to blur such lines between the Ash' arīs and known innovative sects so as to defame them in the course of debating them cf. notes 220, 315, 343, 376, 378. 400 As is Ibn Taymiyya.

⁴⁰¹ Cf. §§ 66-70 and n. 314 and 360.

170

Then he attributed the doctrine [of the Ash'arīs] to Bishr al-Marrīsī⁴⁰² and mentioned that these are the same figurative interpretations which the Imāms declared to be invalid, and he refuted Bishr concerning them. Then he stated that what the Teacher Abū Bakr ibn Fūrak and the Imām Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī mentioned – Allāh sanctify their souls! – is the same as what Bishr had said. This is a hollow claim that does not stand up to careful scrutiny and upright reflection. It would be inconceivable that the Imāms would object to Bishr on the grounds that he said just what the Arabs say; and these two Imāms did not say other than what the Arabs said. The criticism against Bishr is limited to that in which he contradicted the Arabic language and said what the Arabs had never said.

⁴⁰² Ḥamawiyya (p. 251) = Majmūʻ al-Fatāwā (5:22). A repeat of the previous claim, since Bishr al-Marrīsī upheld Jahm's doctrine and held that Allāh ﷺ is in every place cf. al-Dhahabī, al-ʿUluw (p. 417).



His Unreliable Manner of Quoting the Salaf

[73] Then he tried to buttress his claimed affiliation to the Emigrants and the Helpers & and proceeded to relate their position in the following terms.

He said: "Al-Awzā'ī said, 'We would say, at a time the Tabi' $\bar{u}n$ were everywhere, that Allāh M is above (fawq) His Throne."

We reply to him: You begin with al-Awzā'ī and his synchronic layer, followed by the succeeding layer. Where are the First and the Foremost of the Emigrants and the Helpers?

403 Ḥamawiyya (p. 299-300) = Majmū' al-Fatāwā (5:39). Narrated by al-Bayhaqī in al-Asmā' wal-Ṣifāt (Kawtharī ed. p. 408 = Ḥāshidī ed. 2:304 §865 isnād layyin) with a weak chain containing Muḥammad ibn Kathīr al-Miṣṣ̄ṣī who is da'īf cf. al-Arna'ūt, Taḥrīr Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb (3:310) while Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Jawharī is unknown. Yet Ibn Ḥajar grades its chain "good" (isnād jayyid) in the Fath (13:406) while Ibn Taymiyya claimed the chain was sound (ṣaḥīḥ) in the Ḥamawiyya and Bayān Talbīs al-Jahmiyya (2:38); as did Ibn al-Qayyim in his ljtimā' al-Juyūsh (p. 69) while in al-Ṣawā' iq (2:211) he says, "Its narrators are all trustworthy Imāms!" As for al-Dhahabī his case is the strangest of the four as he declares the chain sound in Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz (1:181-182) although he himself states of al-Miṣṣ̄ṣ̄ṣ̄ in the Siyar (Fikr ed. 9:113): "His narrations can be written but, as for providing any proof, they are not up to it." On al-Awzā'ī see our Four Imāms and Their Schools.

171

- You have also contradicted al-Awzā'ī's saying and have not said the same as he. For you said that Allāh is not above His Throne, since you determined that what is meant by the heaven and the Throne is nothing other than the upward direction (jihat al-'uluw). You said, "What is meant by 'above His Throne' and by 'the heaven' is the heights." So you have obviously diverged from al-Awzā'ī's saying.
- This is not to say that your position is in the least coherent. For you have also determined that the heaven, in comparison to the Throne, is like a ring thrown into a desert;⁴⁰⁵ how then can the heaven also be the Throne?
- Finally, when did you ascertain the authenticity of this report from al-Awzāʿī?
- Even if we were to concede to you all of the above, it remains that al-Awzāʿī never said, "Allāh ﷺ is above the Throne literally (ḥaqīqatan)." From where did you obtain this addition?
- Then he related from Mālik ibn Anas, al-Thawrī, al-Layth, and al-Awzā'ī that they said of the narrations of the Divine Attributes: "Let them pass exactly the way they came to us." 406

⁴⁰⁴ Hamawiyya (p. 524) = Majmū' al-Fatāwā (5:106).

⁴⁰⁵ Cf. §97 and §112.

⁴⁰⁶ Hamawiyya (p. 303) = Majmūʻ al-Fatāwā (5:39). Narrated with a sound chain from al-Walīd ibn Muslim by al-Bayhaqī in the Asmā' (Ḥāshidī ed. 2:377 §955=Kawtharī ed. p. 453) and al-I'tiqād (p. 118=p. 57), al-Ājurrī in al-Sharīʻa, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr in al-Tamhīd (7:158), al-Lālikā'ī (3:527 §930), Ibn Qudāma in Dhamm al-Ta'wīl (p. 18 §24), and others. Also narrated from al-Zuhrī by al-Bayhaqī in the Asmā' (2:377 §954) and al-Lālikā'ī (\$735). Sufyān ibn Sa'īd ibn Masrūq Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Thawrī al-Kūfī (d. 161), Amīr al-Muʾminīn fīl-Ḥadīth, was the Imām of the world in his time together with Abū Ḥanīfa in the estimation of Ibn al-Mubārak, of scrupulous Godwariness, simple living, and learning from whom narrated 1,000 muḥaddiths. Al-Layth ibn Sa'd ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Abū al-Ḥārīth al-Fahmī (94-175) was the foremost Imām of Egypt of famous generosity and learning, greater than Mālik in fiqh in the estimation of Ibn al-Mubārak, al-Shāfʻī, Saʿīd ibn Abī Ayyūb, and Yahyā ibn Bukayr. Aḥmad praised the high authenticity of his ḥadīth narrations. On both of them see our Four Imāms and Their Schools.

179

180

The question for him is: Why did you not do exactly as the Imāms ordered? Instead, you described Allāh with the upward direction, when not one report came to us to that effect – and even if you were to spend the earth's weight in gold in order to hear such a thing from a true knower of his Lord, still, you would never be happy! Not until you did as you pleased and transmitted it in the way your fancy dictated, without letting it pass, without acknowledging it, and without adhering to the guidelines you yourself reported from the Imāms!

He narrated the saying of Rabī'a and Mālik: "Istiwā' is not un-known." 407

I wonder who ever said that *istiwā*' was unknown. Rather, it is you who claimed a specific meaning for it and you want to attribute this claim to the two Imāms, but we are not going to let you!

[74] Then he related from Mālik that the latter replied to the questioner: "Belief in it is obligatory and asking about it is an innovation. And I do not believe you are anything but an innovator!" Then Mālik gave the order that he be taken out. 408

⁴⁰⁷ Narrated by al-Bayhaqī with a sound chain, al-Asmā' wal-Şifāt (2:305-306 \$867), al-Baghawī in Sharḥ al-Sunna (1:171), al-Lālikā'ī in Sharḥ Uṣūl al-I' tiqād (2:398), Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī in al-Jāmi' fīl-Sunan (p. 123), Abū Nu'aym (6:325-326), cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr in al-Tamhīd (7:151) and Ibn Ḥajar, Fatḥ (13:407). Note that the wording that says: "The 'how' is unknown" (al-kayfu majhūl) is falsely attributed to Imām Mālik, although also cited from Rabī' a with a sound chain by al-Bayhaqī in al-Asmā' wal-Şifāt (2:306 \$868) and without chain by Ibn al-'Arabī in 'Āriḍat al-Ahwadhī (2:235), but is an aberrant narration (riwāya shādhdha). Yet it is the preferred wording of Ibn Taymiyya in Dar' Ta 'āruḍ al-'Aql wal-Naql (1:278) and Fatāwā (17:373), as he infers from it support for his positions although he reports it correctly as "The 'how' is inconceivable" in his Hamawiyya (p. 306-307)=Majmū' al-Fatāwā (5:40). Rabī' a ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Farrūkh Abū 'Uthmān al-Qurashī al-Taymī (d. 136), known as Rabī' at al-Ra'ī for his fiqh, was the Mufti of Madīna, one of the Mujtahid Imāms, and the teacher of Imām Mālik. When Rabī' a died, Mālik said: "The sweetness of fiqh is gone."

⁴⁰⁸ Hamawiyya (p. 308) = Majmū' al-Fatāwā (5:40-41).

The answer for him is: I wonder which is the one that followed Mālik's guidelines! Is it we [Ash'arīs] who did as he did, by our ordering everyone to refrain [from discussion] and by restraining non-scholars (wa-aljamnā al-'awāmm)⁴⁰⁹ from probing such topics, or is it the one who made it his area of expertise, tossing it about, piecing it together haphazardly, imparting it to others, writing about it, teaching it, and ordering the uneducated public to plunge into it? Did such a person ever express disapproval of the questioner on this specific issue and order that he be taken out as Mālik did on the same specific issue? If one considers this, one knows that what he [Ibn Taymiyya] related from Mālik is a proof against him, not for him.

Then he related from 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Salama al-Mājishūn (d. 164) that, when he was asked about what the Jahmiyya had rejected, he replied:

To proceed: I have understood the following from what the Jahmiyya and those who disagreed with them have said concerning the Attribute of the Lord of Might. His magnificence is beyond description or estimation; tongues will sooner dry up than account for His nature (sifa); minds are at an end before they begin to know His power; His magnificence has turned back the minds to their point of departure, {weakened and made dim} (67:4). For they were ordered only to examine and reflect upon what He created with perfect measure; and "how" is asked only of what used not to be and then was. As for Him Who never changes, never ceases to exist, has always existed without beginning, and like unto Whom there is nothing and no one: no one knows "how" He is except He. <How could He be known as He is, Who has no beginning, does not die, and does not turn to dust? How can the

⁴⁰⁹ A reference to al-Ghazzālī's Iljām al-'Awāmm which the author cites below.

attribute of anything of His possess a limit (hadd) or an endpoint (muntahā) that anyone might get to know or the extent of which he might define? Yet He is the manifest Truth, truer than Whom there is none, and nothing stands more manifest than He.> The proof that minds are powerless to ascertain His nature (sifa) is that they are powerless to ascertain the nature of the smallest one of his creatures. You can hardly see it move or disappear due to its smallness while its hearing and sight are completely imperceptible, <not to speak of what goes on [75] in its mind, which is even far more removed and hidden from you than what can be observed of its hearing and sight.>"411

Blessed be Allāh, the best Creator, the Creator of creators, Master of masters and Lord of all!

⁴¹⁰ The same negation of limit for Allāh is held by Sufyān al-Thawrī, Shu'ba, Ḥammād ibn Zayd, Ḥammād ibn Salama, Sharīk, Abū 'Awāna, Aḥmad, al-Tustarī, Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī, Ibn Kullāb, Abū Ḥātim, al-Ash'arī, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, Mālik, al-Ṭaḥāwī, Ibn Khafīf, Ibn Fūrak, Ibn Ḥibbān, al-Khaṭṭābī, al-Qushayrī, and al-Bayhaqī. Cf. our Four Imāms, chapter on Imām Aḥmad. The anthropomorphists try to annul this axiom with the claim that "He has limits which He knows" although the Salaf never said such a thing but the contrary. In other words, al-Mājishūn says, "How can the attribute of anything of His possess a limit or an endpoint that He or anyone might know or the extent of which He or anyone might define?"

Hamawiyya (p. 311-321) = Majmū al-Fatāwā (5:42-46). Part of a longer report narrated by al-Dhahabī it in the Siyar (Risāla ed. 7:311-312). He incorrectly declares it sahīh from Ibn Mājishūn in his 'Uluw (Saqqāf ed. p. 402-404=Ryadh ed. p.141-142= Madīna ed. p. 105-106=Mukhtaṣar p. 144-145) without providing the chain but does provide it in the Siyar: through 'Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Isā al-Jawharī who is known to have narrated at least one forgery (cf. Mīzān), from al-Athram, from 'Abd Allāhi ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Juhanī who is at best of fair narrations subject to confirmation [cf. al-Dhahabī, Mīzān (2:440-445 \$4383). Al-Arna'ūţ said of him in Taḥrīr al-Taqrīb (2:222 \$3388): "Truthful (sadūq), his memorization leaves something to be desired, of fair narrations in follow-ups (al-mutāba'āt)."] Also partly narrated by al-Lālikā'ī (2:502-503) with a broken chain through Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, and cited by Ibn Baṭṭa in the Turkish ms. of his Ibāna. Al-Dhahabī omits the bracketed segments from the 'Uluw and Siyar.

Then he related from al-Mājishūn the ḥadīths that concern the Attributes and he mentioned the saying of Allāh , {The whole earth is His handful on the Day of Resurrection, and the heavens are rolled in His right hand} (39:67). Al-Mājishūn continued:

By Allāh! No sooner does He indicate to them the vastness of what He described of Himself and what His handful encompasses, than the minisculeness of their own selves shows, and the realization that they only know what was inspired to them to know, and what was created according to what their hearts can know. Therefore, just as He described or named Himself as taught to us by His Prophet , that is also how we describe or name Him, exactly as He did. We do not burden ourselves with additional attributes or this or that other than what He told us, and we do not burden ourselves by seeking to know what He did not describe [of Himself].

Then al-Mājishūn expanded on this. We say to him who related those words: You have adduced an excellent proof – for us! And you have provided the best weapon – for your foes.

Concerning the words of 'Abd al-'Azīz and what he said about the magnificence and greatness of Allāh which boggle the minds and surpass all understanding: this is exactly what all the learned people of knowledge have said in verse and in prose. As for you, you have ridiculed and mocked the great Masters and Imāms of the Religion who are the most eminent figures in the Community, no later than in the second page of your incitement to evil. Because they have admitted helplessness and incapacity [to understand], you reproached them and took them to task as if it were a sin, whereas it is you who must be rebuked, and they who must be excused.

You took the saying of 'Abd al-'Azīz as a proof but he said, concerning the handful of Allāh , exactly what the *mutakallimūn* have said in every page of theirs. [76] 'Abd al-'Azīz ordered that the Lord be described only in the terms in which He described Himself and that one keep absolutely silent otherwise. This is precisely what we say, what we do, and what we hold firmly to be our belief.

You, on the other hand, described Him with directional upwardness when He never thus described Himself. You declared it permissible to point to Him with sensory gestures, which He never mentioned. We have passed on the Attributes exactly as they came to us, while you have joined together the Throne and the heaven as meaning directional altitude and you said, "in the heaven literally" and "on the Throne literally." Glory to Him Who granted us rational minds! Truly, such a phenomenon was inscribed into the Book as destined to take place.

Then he mentioned, as related from Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan, the agreement of the jurists in describing the Lord [only] in the terms that came to us in the Qur'ān and the narrations of the Attributes.⁴¹²

412 "The jurists from East to West agree that we should believe in the Qur'an and the hadīths that the trustworthy transmitted from the Messenger of Allah ♣ in regard to the Divine Attributes, without tafsīr, nor description, nor tashbīh, and whoever explains something of this today has come out of what the Prophet ♣ followed and parted with the Congregation. For they neither described nor explained but only responded with what is in the Book and the Sunna then kept silent. Therefore, whoever speaks like Jahm has parted with the Congregation for He has described Him as a nonexistent entity." Hamawiyya (p. 332) = Majmū' al-Fatāwā (5:50 cf. 5:143). Narrated from Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan by al-Lālikā'i in his Sharḥ al-Uṣūl (3:432 \$740) with a chain of complete unknowns and from Ibn Qudāma in Dhamm al-Ta'wīl (p. 11-12 \$13) with the same chain further marred by variations in the names of four of the narrators. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. 189) was the foremost companion of Imām Abū Ḥanīfa with Abū Yūsuf whom he succeeded as the head judge in the service of the Caliph Ḥārūn al-Rashīd. He was a teacher to Imām Aḥmad, cf. our Four Imāms and Their Schools.

- We say to him: Nor do we deny a single letter of the above, but it is you who said, "I describe the Almighty Lord as being in the upward direction and I declare permissible to point to Him with sensory gestures." Where is this found in the Qur'an and the reports of the trustworthy narrators? You have not benefited us with any fatwā in the matter.
- Then he related from Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām that he said, "If asked about their explanation [i.e. the verses and narrations of the Attributes], we do not explain them," and that he said, "We have not seen nor heard of anyone that explained them."
- We say to him: Praise belongs to Allah! Our goal is met. But I wonder who it is that explained the heaven and the Throne? Who is it that said they mean the upward direction? And who is it that relinquished explaining them and let them pass just as they came to us?
- Then he related that ['Abd Allāh] Ibn al-Mubārak said, "Our Lord is known to be above (fawq) His heaven, over ('alā) His Throne, distinct (bāin) from His creation, and we do not say, as the Jahmiyya claim, that He is right here on earth (hāhunā fīlard)."414

⁴¹³ Hamawiyya (p. 333-335) = Majmū * al-Fatāwā (5:51). Narrated with a sound chain by al-Bayhaqī in al-Asmā' (Ḥāshidī ed. 2:198 §760) and a weak chain by al-Dhahabī in al- 'Uluw (p. 451=Mukhtaṣar p. 186). On al-Qāsim ibn Sallām see the chapter on Imām Aḥmad in our Four Imāms and Their Schools.

⁴¹⁴ Ḥamawiyya (p. 337) = Majmū ʻ al-Fatāwā (5:51-52) adding that this was also the position of Imām Aḥmad but Ibn Taymiyya altered the wording as shown in the next note. Narrated with a sound chain by al-Bukhārī in Khalq Af āl al-ʿIbād (p. 31), al-Bayhaqī in al-Asmā' wal-Ṣifāt (Kawtharī ed. p. 427; Ḥāshidī ed. 2:336), and others. On Ibn al-Mubārak see the chapter on Imām Abū Ḥanīfa in The Four Imāms and Their Schools.

We say to him: 'Abd Allāh clearly stipulated that Allāh is is "above His heaven, over His Throne;" did 'Abd Allāh ever say: "The heaven and the Throne are one, namely, the upward direction?" 415

195

415 Al-Bayhaqī narrated that Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī said: "Sufyān al-Thawrī, Shu'ba, Hammad ibn Zayd, Hammad ibn Salama, Sharik, and Abū 'Awana did not hold [that Allah i had a limit nor a likeness nor a similitude. They would narrate the hadiths [of the Attributes] without saying 'how'. If asked, they would answer with whatever was transmitted. And this is also our position." Al-Bayhaqī continued: "As for the report to which cling those who believe that Allah & has a direction, whereby 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan said: 'I asked 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak, "How (kayf) do we know our Lord?" He replied, "In the seventh heaven on His Throne." I said, "The Jahmiyya also say He is such." He said, "We do not mean it like the Jahmiyya. We mean He Himself (huwa huwa)." I said, "With a limit (bi-hadd)??" He said, "Yes, by Allah, with a limit!" [Narrated mostly in anthropomorphist works: 'Abd Allah ibn Ahmad's al-Sunna, 'Uthman ibn Sa'īd al-Dārimi's al-Radd 'alā al-Marrīsī and al-Radd 'alā al-Jahmiyya, al-Dhahabi's al-'Uluw, and Ibn Taymiyya's Hamawiyya.] - 'Abd Allah only meant by 'limit' the limit dictated by transmission (hadd al-sam'), namely, that the truthful report stated that {He established Himself on the Throne) (20:5), so He is on the Throne as He related. By saying this, he meant to belie the Jahmiyya who claimed that He is in every place. His other report confirms this, and Allah knows best. From 'Ali ibn al-Hasan ibn Shaqiq: 'I heard 'Abd Allah ibn al-Mubarak say, "We know our Lord to be above (fawq) seven heavens, He established Himself over His Throne, distinct (bain) from His creation, and we do not say as the Jahmiyya said, that He is right here" - and he pointed to the ground (hāhunā fīl-ard).' By the term 'distinct' he means, as he explained directly afterwards, to negate the claim [of intermixing (imtizāj)] of the Jahmiyya, not to suggest direction on the opposite side. He means what the Law said in absolute terms, and Allah knows best." Al-Asma' wal-Sifat (Kawtharī ed. p. 426-427; Ḥāshidī ed. 2:334-336). Al-Kawtharī pointed out that nowhere in the Qur'an and Sunna are the terms "in the seventh heaven" applied to Allah 🕏 nor the term "on His Throne" other than exactly as the verse of istiwa' said and that that report from Ibn al-Mubārak is therefore munkar regardless of its chain. When Imam Aḥmad was told one time: "Ibn al-Mubārak never said such and such," he replied: "Ibn al-Mubārak did not descend from heaven!" In Ibn al-Jawzī, Daf Shubah al-Tashbih (Saggaf ed. p. 111).

- 196 [77] Then he related from Ḥammād ibn Zayd that he said: "Those Jahmiyya are only trying to say that there is nothing in the heaven."
- Again, we say to him: You have followed the example of the Jahmiyya, for you explicitly said that the heaven (al-samā) is not really the heaven itself but a derivative meaning of height (al-sumū), which you explained to mean the upward direction. Therefore, it would be more appropriate to apply to yourself what Ḥammād applied to the Jahmiyya. 417
- Then he related from Ibn Khuzayma that "whoever does not say that Allāh ﷺ is above His heavens, over His Throne, distinct from His creation, must be summoned to repent. If he does, well and good. Otherwise he must be executed and his body thrown on a garbage heap so that neither Muslims nor *Dhimmīs* shall be harmed by it."

Hamawiyya (p. 337-338) = Majmū' al-Fatāwā (5:52). Narrated from 'Abd Allāh ibn Ahmad in the Musnad and Abū Nu'aym (6:258) cf. al-Bukhārī in Khalq Af'āl al-'Ibād (p. 31), al-Dhahabī in al-'Uluw (p. 405), and others. Also reported from Ayyūb al-Sakhtyānī cf. Ḥilya and 'Uluw (p. 383). Ḥammād ibn Zayd ibn Dirham Abū Ismā'īl al-Azdī (98-179) was one of the Imāms of the Salaf and a contemporary of Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik of whom 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mahdī said, "People (al-nās) in their time were four: Ḥammād ibn Zayd in al-Baṣra, al-Thawrī in al-Kūfa, Mālik in al-Ḥijāz, and al-Awzā'ī in al-Shām."

⁴¹⁷ Al-Sayyid Yüsuf al-Rifa'i wrote in the forty-seventh advice of his *Advice to the Scholars of Najd*: "You accuse the Muslims who differ with you of being deviant Jahmis or Mu'tazilis. The truth is, you are the Jahmiyya because you agree with them in some of their doctrines and you are the Mu'tazila because you concur with them in denying sainthood and saints as well as their miraculous gifts, the life of the dead, and the arbitration of reason in matters of the unseen in religious issues." They also, like the Mu'tazila and Jahmiyya, partly deny the most honorable status of the Prophet % and his intercessorship.

⁴¹⁸ Hamawiyya (p. 339-340) = Majmūʻ al-Fatāwā (5:52). I.e. by its unwanted presence in their respective burial grounds. See note 228 above, in Shaykh Ghāwjī's introduction and, on Ibn Khuzayma, our Four Imāms and Their Schools.

Let him know that the answer to the like of the above has been given already. Moreover, both the experts and the non-experts are quite aware of Ibn Khuzayma's talk in the field of doctrines and of his book devoted to anthropomorphism (al-tashbīh) which he named al-Tawhīd. The Imāms of the Religion have refuted it in numbers greater than can be surmised. They said about him just what he had said of others and this is known.

Then he related from 'Abbād al-Wāsiṭī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mahdī, and 'Āṣim ibn 'Alī ibn 'Āṣim something similar to what he related from Ḥammād [ibn Zayd] and which we clarified.⁴¹⁹

After that, he mentioned the authentic narration from Anas ibn Mālik whereby he said: "Zaynab [bint Jaḥsh] wu used to boast to the other wives of the Prophet saying, You were married off by your families but I was married off by Allāh from above seven heavens." 420

We reply: there is no evidence in this hadīth that Zaynab said that Allāh sa was above seven heavens. Rather, it was her marrying off by Allāh sa that took place above seven heavens.

[78] Then he related from Abū Sulaymān al-Khaṭṭābī what he had related before from 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Mājishūn.⁴²¹ We have

419 Ḥamawiyya (p. 341-345) = Majmū' al-Fatāwā (5:52-53). The report of 'Abbād al-Wāsiṭī is narrated by 'Abd Allāh ibn Ahmad in al-Sunna (Dammām ed. 1:126-127 isnād da'īf) with a very weak chain because of Yaḥyā ibn Ismā'īl al-Wāsiṭī [omitted in al-Khalīlī's chain from 'Abd Allāh in al-Irshād (3:830)] cf. al-Bukhārī's Tārikh al-Kabīr (1:208), al-Kāmīl, Mīzān, Mughnī etc.; the report of Ibn Mahdī is narrated by al-Bayhaqī in al-Asmā' with a weak chain because of 'Amr ibn 'Abbās al-Bāhilī; the report of 'Āṣim is not found anywhere and is cited in al-'Uluw also without chain.

⁴²⁰ Narrated by al-Bukhārī and Muslim, an allusion to the Divine injunction to the Prophet to marry her specifically in the verse {We gave her unto you in marriage} (33:37). Hamawiyya (p. 346) = Majmū al-Fatāwā (5:54).

⁴²¹ Hamawiyya (p. 365-368) = Majmū' al-Fatāwā (5:58-59). Ḥamd ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Khaṭṭāb, Abū Sulaymān al-Bustī al-Khaṭṭābī al-Shāfi'ī (319-388), "one of the Imāms of the Sunna" (Ibn al-Sam'ānī), an Imām of fiqh, ḥadīth Master, and master of the Arabic language. Among his sayings: "The people of our time have split into two

200

201

202

asserted our complete agreement with the latter and his [i.e. Ibn Taymiyya's] contravention of what Ibn al-Mājishūn stated.

He stated the same positions from al-Khaṭīb, Abū Bakr al-Ismāʿīlī, Yaḥyā ibn ʿAmmār, Abū Ismāʿīl al-Harawī [al-Anṣārī], and Abū ʿUthmān al-Ṣābūnī. 422

parties. The first [the Mu'tazila and their sub-groups] altogether disavow this kind of hadīth and declare them forged outright. This implies their attributing lies to the scholars who have narrated them, that is, the Imams of our religion and the transmitters of the Prophetic ways, and the intermediaries between us and the Messenger of Allah 38. The second party [the literalists] give their assent to the narrations and apply their outward meanings literally, in a way bordering on anthropomorphism. As for us, we steer clear from both views and accept neither as our school. It is therefore incumbent upon us to seek for these hadiths, when they are cited and established as authentic from the perspectives of transmission and attribution, an interpretation (ta'wil) derived according to the known meanings of the foundations of the Religion and the schools of the scholars, without rejecting the narrations outright, as long as their chains are acceptable and narrators trustworthy." Ma'ālim al-Sunan (Ḥims, ed. 5:95) in al-Būṭī, al-Salafiyya (p. 140). 422 Hamawiyya (p. 369-371) = Majmū' al-Fatāwā (5:59). Al-Khaṭīb: narrated by Ibn Qudāma in Dhamm al-Ta'wīl with a strong chain and partly cited by al-Dhahabī in the Siyar and 'Uluw but see exact text in our biographical notice on al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī in our volume on the Ash'arī School in shā Allāh. Al-Ismā'īlī: narrated from his I'tigād al-Sunna by al-Dhahabī in Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz (3:949), al-'Uluw (p. 525-526 cf. Mukhtaşar p. 248-249), and the Siyar with a strong chain despite Mas'ūd ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid as he is trustworthy (thiqa) cf. al-Dhahabī in Ma'rifat al-Qurrā' al-Kibār (2:519) but see al-Ismā'īlī's explicit stand on anthropomorphism in his I'tiqād A'immat al-Hadīth (p. 51-52) cf. Ibn Ḥajar, Fath (8:664): "One must not attribute organs (a' dā') nor limbs (jawāriḥ) to Allāh 🐝 nor length nor breadth nor density nor thinness (walā al-ṭūl wal-'ard wal-ghilza wal-diqqa) nor any such characteristic the like of which applies to created beings." Yaḥyā ibn 'Ammār al-Shaybānī al-Sijzī (d. 422): al-Dhahabī cites him without chain in al-'Uluw (p. 547 cf. Mukhtaşar p. 263) then criticizes his wording cf. Mukhtaşar al-'Uluw (p. 263 §319): "Your saying bi-dhātihi is coming from your own bag!" In the Siyar (Fikr ed. 13:310 §3932=17:481): "His zeal against innovators and the Jahmiyya pushed him to trespass the way of the Salaf"; elsewhere in the Siyar (12:249= 16:97 cf. Mīzān al-I' tidāl 3:507) he attributes innovation to him for his condemnation of Ibn Hibban. Al-Harawi: Ibn Taymiyya is referring to his anthropomorphist manifesto al-Fārūq fīl-Şifāt as cited by al-Dhahabī in al-'Uluw (p. 565 cf. Mukhtaşar p. 278). Both Yahyā and his student al-Harawī al-Anṣārī are unmitigated anthropomorphists and rabid anti-Ash'arīs who considered Ibn Ḥibbān a non-Sunni! Al-Ṣābūnī: Ibn Taymiyya is probably referring to the so-called 'Aqidat al-Salaf attributed to al-Sābūnī, in which is found the statement: "The Masters of Hadith hold and bear witness that Allah is above His seven heavens, on His Throne, just as His Book said" in Majmū'at al-Rasā'il al-Munīriyya (1:109). [Al-Dhahabī cites it in al-'Uluw (p. 549 cf. Mukhtasar p. 265) but then

He also cited from Abū Nuʿaym al-Aṣbahānī that the well-established narrations concerning *istiwā*' are adopted by the scholars and their contents affirmed without saying "how" nor drawing comparisons nor likening anything with anything created, to the effect that He is established (*huwa mustawin*) over His Throne in His heaven, with the exclusion of His earth. He also cited this from Maʿmar al-Aṣbahānī. 423

We have made it clear to the reader more than once that he [Ibn Taymiyya] actually contradicts that position and that he never held it in the least except he immediately nullified it! For

206

adds much material which is not found in the Munīriyya text: "and the Ulema of the Umma etc."] Nevertheless, such a statement is not found in the long Waṣiyya of al-Ṣābūnī – cited in full by Ibn al-Subkī in Tabaqāt al-Shāfī iyya al-Kubrā (4:285-292) – which states: "Allāh is much exalted beyond what both the negators (al-mu attila) and anthropomorphists (al-mushabbiha) claim. Regarding the verses that mention the Attributes of the Creator and the authentic Prophetic narrations in that chapter... [I] tread the path of the pious Predecessors and the Imāms of the Religion in accepting them and narrating them after ascertaining the soundness of their transmission chain, citing them in their external wordings, confirming them, fully assenting to them, but guarding against any belief of modality or anthropomorphism in them, avoiding what leads to rejecting them or altering them through reproved figurative interpretation (ta'wīl) for which Allāh never gave authority, nor did the Companions, Successors, and pious Salaf say anything like it."

423 Hamawiyya (p. 372-378) = Majmūʻ al-Fatāwā (5:60-61). Ibn Taymiyya attributes two chainless statements to Abū Nu'aym - a staunch Ash'arī - possibly referencing the first to his Hilyat al-Awliya' - where there is no trace of it - and the second to Mahajjat al-Wāthiqīn wa-Madrajat al-Wāmiqīn of which he alone apparently had knowledge, cf. also Majmū' al-Fatāwā (18:71) and al-Saffārīnī in Lawāmi' al-Anwār al-Bahiyya (1:196). Al-Dhahabī cites the first statement, also without chain, in his 'Uluw (p. 544 cf. Mukhtaşar p. 261) but references it to a book he names al-I'tiqad while in his Tadhkira (p. 1097) he calls it al-Mu'taqad. No one else apparently knows it except Ibn al-Qayyim and it is established that Abū Nu'aym was Ash'arī in doctrine - see on him our Ash'arī School. As for the purported citation from Ma'mar, it is chainless just as in al-'Uluw (p. 545 cf. Mukhtaşar p. 262) and there is confusion as to his identity. Al-Dhahabī identifies him as Ma'mar ibn Ahmad [ibn Muhammad] ibn Zyad Abu Mansur al-Asbahani al-Sufi and says he died in 418 cf. al-Nujūm al-Zāhira (4:268) while Ibn al-Subkī in Ṭabagāt al-Shāfi 'iyya al-Wusṭā cf. Kubrā (5:331) cites al-Silafi (474-576) as identifying another Ma'mar as his Shaykh, Ma'mar ibn Ahmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Umar Abū Manşûr al-Lunbanî al-Asbahanî al-Sufi who died in 489.

the heaven, according to him, is other than what is commonly believed. To him, neither the heaven nor the Throne bear any meaning other than the upward direction.

He cited from 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlī [i.e. al-Gīlānī] (471-562) that he said: "Allāh se is in the upward direction (bi-jihat al-'uluw), established (mustawin) over His Throne." 424

I truly wonder why he used his words as proofs and left out those of such as Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, al-Shiblī, al-Junayd, Dhū al-Nūn al-Miṣrī, Ja'far ibn Nuṣayr, and their likes – Allāh 🎉 be well-pleased with them!

As for what he cited from Abū 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Barr, both the elite and general public know the man's position and its disapproval by the Ulema. The Mālikīs' condemnation of it, from the first to the last of them, is well-known. His contravention (mukhālafa) of the Imām of North Africa, Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī, is famous. It reached a point where the eminent people of North Africa would say: 'No one in North Africa holds this position except he and Ibn Abī Zayd (310-386)' although some of the people of knowledge cited an excuse for Ibn Abī Zayd in the text of the great Qāḍī Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wahhāb [ibn 'Alī ibn Naṣr] al-Baghdādī al-Mālikī (d. 422)⁴²⁷ – Allāh have mercy on him.

208

⁴²⁴ Hamawiyya (p. 476-477) = Majmū' al-Fatāwā (5:85 cf. 3:222, 3:264). Narrated in al-Gīlānī's Ghunya (Lahore: al-Maţba'at al-Islāmiyya, 1322/1904) p. 121-128 but there are known problems of textual integrity with that book cf. Article, "The Innovated Phrase In Person" in our Sunna Notes series. Note that al-Dhahabi in his 'Uluw (p. 571 cf. Mukhtaṣar p. 283 §348) omits the phrase "in the upward direction."

⁴²⁵ See "The 'Descent' of Allah" in our Sunna Notes series and The Ash' arī School.

⁴²⁶ Imām Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī, Sulaymān ibn Khalaf al-Mālikī al-Qurṭubī, see our volume *The Ash* arī School.

⁴²⁷ Perhaps a reference to his commentary on Ibn Abī Zayd's *Risāla* (cf. Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībāj al-Mudhahhab* p. 262).

To proceed, he [Ibn 'Abd al-Barr] said, "Allāh ﷺ is in the heaven, on the Throne, above seven heavens" but he did not pin down what is meant by "in the heaven, on the Throne, above seven heavens" (lā ya' qil mā ma' nā fīl-samā' 'alā al-'arsh min fawqi sab' i samāwāt).

[79] Further, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr neither interpreted those terms figuratively, nor said anything like the impostor's claim that what is meant by the Throne and the heaven is but the upward direction.

Then he cited from al-Bayhaqī – Allāh have mercy on him! – something unrelated to the discussion, after which he reiterated the statements of those who were mentioned previously. 429

428 Ḥamawiyya (p. 479) = Majmūʻ al-Fatāwā (5:86). Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Tamhīd (7:129). 429 Hamawiyya (p. 482-487) = Majmű' al-Fatāwā (5:87-89). Ibn Taymiyya cites al-Bayhaqi's narrations of the hadiths affirming the Hand and Hands in al-Asma' wal-Şifat but omits to show the Imam's emphatic rejection of any anthropomorphic interpretation of these texts. Al-Bayhaqī said in that chapter: "Some of the keenest scholars have said that the Right (al-yamīn) signifies the Hand (al-yad), and the Palm (al-kaff) likewise, in the sense that the hand for Allah is an Attribute, not a limb. Thus, every passage that mentions it in the Book and the authentic Sunna carries a meaning in connection with the object of mention such as folding up, taking, seizing, spreading, sweeping, accepting, giving, and other acts connecting the personal Attributes to what those attributes entail, without touch nor contact. There is never in all this any likeness between Allah 36 and creation whatsoever. Others have said that the handful (al-qabda) [in the verse {The whole earth is His handful on the Day of Resurrection} (39:67)] may be by means of a limb - exalted is Allah beyond that! - while others said that it may mean dominion (almulk) and power (al-qudra) [...] as in His saying: [From among those whom your right hands possess} (30:28) which signifies property. It was also said that by the verse {And the heavens are rolled in His right hand \ (39:67) is meant that the heavens are bound to disappear according to his oath. That is, He swore an oath to abolish them. [...] About the Prophet's 5 hadīth: 'No one spends something good in charity - and Allāh accepts nothing but good - except the Merciful takes it with His right hand (yamīnih), if only a date; it increases in the palm of the Merciful (kaff al-Raḥmān) until it exceeds the size of a mountain, just as one of you makes his parcel of land productive' [narrated from Abū Hurayra by Muslim, Aḥmad, al-Nasā'ī, Ibn Mājah, and al-Tirmidhī who said it is ḥasan saḥiḥ]: his saying 'The Merciful's palm' (kaff) means His dominion and sovereignty according to the keenest scholars." Al-Asmā' wal-Ṣifāt (Kawtharī ed. p. 330-331; Ḥāshidī ed. 2:159-160).

- After this, he mentioned our Shaykh, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Ismā'īl al-Ash'arī and his words: "{The Merciful established Himself over the Throne} (20:4) and we do not make bold before Allāh in our speech but simply say 'He established Himself,' without asking how."
- These words which he related from our Shaykh are our creed and our doctrine. However, I do not view his citing them as other than a ploy designed to falsely suggest that the Shaykh subscribes to the doctrine of upward direction for Allāh ... If this is indeed the case, then he truly went far in calumny!

⁴³⁰ Hamawiyya (p. 496) = Majmū' al-Fatāwā (5:92). In al-Ash'arī, Magālāt al-Islāmiyyīn (1:211). Imām al-Ash'arī is 'Alī ibn Ismā'īl ibn Abī Bishr Ishāq ibn Salīm, Abū al-Hasan al-Ash'arī al-Yamānī al-Baṣrī al-Baghdādī (260-324 or 330), a descendent of the Yemeni Companion Abū Mūsā al-Ash' arī. In the first half of his scholarly career he was a disciple of the Mu'tazilī teacher Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī, whose doctrines he abandoned in his fortieth year after asking him a question al-Jubbā'ī failed to resolve over the issue of the supposed Divine obligation to abandon the good for the sake of the better (al-sālih walaslah). At that time he adopted the doctrines of the sifativva, those of Ahl al-Sunna who assert that the Divine Attributes are obligatorily characterized by perfection, unchanging, and without beginning, but He is under no obligation whatsoever to abandon the good for the sake of the better. [Cf. al-Shahrastānī, al-Milal wal-Niḥal (1:93=1961 ed. p. 118-119); Ibn al-Subkī, Tabagāt al-Shāfi iyya al-Kubrā (3:356), and Nūr al-Dīn Ahmad ibn Maḥmūd al-Ṣābūnī (d. 1184), al-Bidāya min al-Kifāya fī Usūl al-Dīn.] He left Basra and came to Baghdad, where he took figh from the Shafi'i jurist Abū Ishaq al-Marwazī (d. 340). [Abū Ishāq al-Isfarāyīnī and Ibn Fūrak considered al-Ash'arī a Shāfi'ī in figh cf. Ibn Qādī Shuhba, Tabaqāt al-Shāfi iyya (1:115) while Ibn Abī al-Wafā in al-Jawāhir al-Mudiyya (p. 247) deems him Hanafi.] He devoted the next twenty-four years to the refutation of "the Mu'tazila, the Rāfiḍa, the Jahmiyya, the Khawārij, and the rest of the various kinds of innovators" in the words of al-Khatib in Tārīkh Baghdād (11:346). His student Bundar related that his yearly expenditure was a meager seventeen dirhams. The founder of the Egyptian "Salafi" Press, Munīr 'Abduh Aghā wrote in his Namūdhaj min al-A'māl al-Khayriyya (p. 131-134): "Al-Ash'arī became the signpost of Sunnī Knowledge in his time until his word became synonymous, since his time, with the position of Ahl al-Sunna wal-Jamā'a." More in our volume on the Ash'arī School in shā Allāh.

2.16

217

218

The actual words of the Shaykh in this regard are as follows: "He was when there was no place; then He created the Throne and the *kursī* without ever being in need of place, and He is, after creating place, exactly as He was before creating it." His and his companions' statements in declaring false [the concept of direction] can hardly be numbered.

Then he [Ibn Taymiyya] cited something similar from the Qāḍī Abū Bakr [ibn al-Bāqillānī] and Imām al-Ḥaramayn. 432

Then he clung to the fact that hands are raised [upwards] towards the heaven.

But that is only because the heaven is the place of blessings and all good things, for light descends from it, as well as rain. When human beings become accustomed to obtaining benefits from a certain side, their natures will incline to it. That is the sense which makes it a requirement to raise our hands to the heaven, and Allāh said: {And in the heaven is your providence and that which you are promised} (51:22).

431 Al-Ash'arī as narrated by Ibn 'Asākir in Tabyīn Kadhib al-Muftarī (Saqqā ed. p. 150). During one of his trials Ibn Taymiyya quoted from this book and said it was peerless: Majmū' al-Fatāwā (3:182 cf. 3:224) and Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī's al-' Ugūd al-Durriyya (p. 250). 432 Ḥamawiyya (p. 508-516) = Majmū ' al-Fatāwā (5:98-100). Ibn Taymiyya quotes selected paragraphs from Ibn al-Bāqillānī's lost al-Ibāna then from the Nizāmiyya epistle of Ibn al-Juwayni. These two Ash'ari Ulema could not be further away from the doctrine Ibn Taymiyya attempts to defend but his method is to adduce a barrage of citations from anyone and everyone beginning, of course, with the Qur'an and Sunna, then "to clamor a lot about following the Salaf" (al-Nabhānī, Shawāhid al-Ḥagq p. 207). "Salafīs" are also fond of construing a "Salafi" version of the great Sunni mutakallimun and speak of the "repentence" of Imam al-Ghazzālī from Ash'arism, the "repentence" of al-Rāzī, Ibn al-Juwaynī, al-Ash'arī, etc., whereas there is no such repentence on record except for Ibn Taymiyya himself [see our biographical introduction]. See on them our Ash arī School. Al-Qarī said in Mirqāt al-Mafātīḥ (1892 ed. 2:137=1994 ed. 3:300): "A whole group of them [the early Muslims], as well as later scholars, said that whoever believes Allah st to be in a particular physical direction is an unbeliever, as al-'Irāqī has explicitly stated, saying that this was the position of Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik, al-Shāfi'ī, al-Ash'arī, and [Ibn] al-Bāqillāni." Al-Qārī reiterates this fatwā in Sharh al-Figh al-Akbar (1984 'Ilmiyya ed. p. 57) and Sharh 'Ayn al-'Ilm (1989 ed. 1:34).

- Furthermore, he sufficed himself with the likes of this evidence in [one of] the issues of the foundations of Islamic doctrine. Does he have surety that no [80] claimant should put forth a claim that Allāh is in the Ka'ba on the grounds that every worshipper directs his face to it and says, 433 {I have turned my face towards Him Who created the heavens and the earth} (6:79)? Or that some claimant should say that Allāh is in the earth since He said: {But prostrate yourself, and draw near (unto Allāh)} (96:19) when it is known that drawing near by prostrating, distance-wise, can only be to the earth? Further, the Prophet is said: "The nearest [to Allāh] that a servant can be is in his prostration."
- Then he mentioned the parts of the narration of the mountain goats to which we already responded. Then he mentioned something that has no bearing on the issue whatsoever.
- After that, he asserted that he had reported from the Salaf the same as his own position. In fact, he did not, so far, report from anyone anything that supports his position not from the Salaf, and not from the Khalaf. The only exception is 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlī and some of what Ibn 'Abd al-Barr said. From the Ten that were promised Paradise and the remainder of the Companions, he did not cite so much as a whisper.
- Then he launched into sermons and supplications unrelated to the issue, after which he began to insult and revile the theologians. No barking ever harmed the moon!

⁴³³ At the onset of prayer according to the Shāfi'ī madhhab.

⁴³⁴ Narrated from Abū Hurayra by Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, and al-Nasā'i with the continuation "Therefore, make abundant [your] supplications [at that time]."

More to the point, it is evident that this eminent savant, this proof of the Religion peppers his pronouncements with loud claims that he only says "what Allāh said as well as His Prophet and the First and Foremost among the Emigrants and Helpers." Yet he could not convey the doctrine he holds from a single Companion!

223

We have now concluded our demonstration that his words are false. We have exposed his deceit, brought an end to his equivocations, confuted his conclusions, and turned his purported signposts upside down. Let us proceed with our business and clarify our own creed. And with Allāh comes all success!



Imām al-Ghazzālī's Ethics of Tawhīd

We hold that whoever hears the verses and reports that pertain to the Divine Attributes has duties which we mentioned before. They are:

225

- (1) to uphold Divine transcendence (taqdīs);
- (2) belief (*Īmān*);
- (3) confirmation (taṣdīq);
- (4) admission of inability [to comprehend] (al-i'tirāf bil-'ajz);
- (5) keeping silent (sukūt);
- (6) refraining from paraphrasing the original wording (alimsāk 'an al-taṣarruf fīl-alfāz al-wārida);
- (7) stopping all mental reflection upon such verses and reports (kaff al-bāṭin 'an al-tafakkur fī dhālik); and
- (8) holding firmly that whatever is unknown to us concerning them [81] is not unknown to the Prophet A nor to al-Siddiq on nor to the eminent senior Companions ...

Let us now turn to the elucidation of the finer details enfolded within those duties, and in Allāh is all our help!

⁴³⁵ Cf. §35.

Upholding Divine Transcendence (al-Taqdīs)

To uphold Divine transcendence consists in the firm belief, for every verse and every report, in a meaning (ma'nan) that befits the immense majesty of Allah ...

An example of this is when one hears the saying of the Prophet : "Allāh descends every night to the nearest heaven." "Descent" (nuzūl) applies to a phenomenon that requires a body (jism) in a high position, a body in a low position, and a body that undergoes displacement from high to low, cessation (zawāl) being the displacement of a body from the height to a low ground. 436

"Descent" is also applied in a different sense which requires neither displacement nor the motion of a body, as in the saying of Allāh : {He has sent down (anzala) for you of cattle eight kinds} (39:6) although the cattle, of course, did not descend from the heaven but are definitely created in the wombs. "Descent" here undoubtedly bears a sense other than the motion of a body.

The latter sense is illustrated by the saying of al-Shāfi'ī, "I entered Egypt and they did not understand my discourse so I came down; then I came down some more; then I came down even more." He did not mean by that a displacement from a high to a low ground.

227

228

⁴³⁶ See "Allāh's 'Descent'" in our Sunna Notes series.

231

232

233

234

Let the listener be sure, therefore, that "descent" does not apply in the first sense in relation to Allāh . For corporeality (aljism) is inconceivable in relation to Him. And since [His] nuzūl is not understood as displacement, we can say to the listener, "Whoever is incapable of understanding the descent of the camel [in the verse cited above] is even less able to understand the descent of Allāh ." There are allusions to this fact in the words of 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Mājishūn previously quoted.

The same applies with the term "above" (fawq) which comes up in the Qur'ān and the reports. Let it be understood that "above" sometimes refers to corporeality (jismiyya) and sometimes to status (martaba) as already mentioned.

In conclusion, let it be emphasized, first of all, that corporeality is inconceivable of Allāh 56; secondly, "above" has a sense that befits His immense majesty. [82]

Belief (al-Īmān) and Confirmation (al-Taṣdīq)

Belief and confirmation consist in knowing that the Messenger of Allāh is is truthful in his description of Allāh in these reports and that what he said is the undoubted truth in the sense that he meant and the exact manner in which he said it, even if one cannot determine its actual meaning (wa-in kāna lā yaqifu 'alā ḥaqīqatihi).

Beware, lest someone fall prey to Satan and say: "Why should I consider truthful a matter of a general nature, the specifics of which I am not aware of?" Instead, let one put Satan to shame and reply, "Just as if a truthful person were to tell me that there is an animal in the house and I would know its presence there even if I had not experienced it specifically, the same applies here."

Admission of Incapacity (al-I' tirāfu bil-'Ajz)

Further, let the skeptic know that the Messenger of Allāh said: "I cannot render count of Your Glory! (lā uḥṣī thanā'an 'alayk) You are just as You have glorified Yourself." The Master of the Truthful Saints similarly said: "Incapacity to attain comprehension is comprehension" (al-'ajzu 'an darki al-idrāki idrākun).

It is obligatory upon anyone who has not come to know the true sense of these expressions to admit incapacity. If one claims knowledge, one will be held accountable for such a claim. As much as any person of knowledge may know, what they know not is more!

Keeping Silent (al-Sukūt)

Keeping silent is obligatory for the general public (al-'awāmm). Their enquiring exposes them to something they cannot bear. If they ask an ignoramus about it, the latter will increase the questioner's ignorance; if they ask a person of knowledge, the latter cannot make the questioner understand, just as an adult cannot make a child understand sexual pleasure or the management of domestic affairs. The only way to make a child understand [husbandry] is through practice.

⁴³⁷ Narrated from 'Ā'isha and 'Alī in the Nine Books except al-Bukhārī and Dārimī.
⁴³⁸ See note 286.

239

240

Therefore, if a person who is unlearned in the Religion ('āmmī) asks about the like of this, he must be reprimanded and deterred. Tell him, "This is not for you – shoo!" Thus did Mālik order his questioner to be taken out with the words, "I think you are nothing but an evil-monger!" And Mālik said so after becoming drenched in sweat.

Similarly did 'Umar treat anyone who dared enquire about the ambiguous verses of the Qur'ān. The Prophet said: "Those before you perished only because they asked too many questions."

We have been ordered to refrain from investigating the foreordained Decree of Allah ## – then what about the Divine Attributes!

439 During 'Umar's caliphate a man from Iraq named Ṣabīgh ibn 'Isl came to Madīna and began to ask about the meaning of the ambiguous verses (mutashābihāt) of the Qur'an. 'Umar summoned him. When he came he asked him: "Who are you?" He replied: "I am the servant of Allah, Şabīgh." 'Umar said: "And I am the servant of Allah, 'Umar." Then he struck him on the head with a birch, sending Şabīgh into a daze. He went on until his head bled. Then Sabigh said: "Commander of the believers, stop! No trace remains of what was in my head." Narrated from Sulayman ibn Yasar with a sound chain by al-Darimi and cited by al-Qurtubi in his commentary on the verse {He it is Who has revealed unto you (Muhammad) the Scripture wherein are clear revelations; they are the substance of the Book; and others (which are) allegorical. But those in whose hearts is doubt pursue that which is allegorical seeking (to cause) dissension by seeking to explain it} (3:7). Imam Mālik narrated in his Muwatta' from Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī, from al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad who said: "I heard a man asking 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās about the spoils of war. The latter answered: 'Horses are part of the spoils of war, and the battle-gear and property carried by the enemy killed in battle (al-salab).' Then the man asked the same question again and Ibn 'Abbas gave the same answer. Then the man said: 'The spoils Allah mentioned in His Book, what are they?' and he did not stop asking him until he almost created a nuisance for him. Then Ibn 'Abbas said: 'Do you know what this man's similitude is? He is like Şabīgh whom 'Umar beat up.'" All those who invent litmus tests of all denominations in order to examine and berate other Muslims are similar, such as "Where is Allāh?" (Wahhābīs), "What do you think of Mu'āwiya [46]?" (Shī'īs), "Is not the Prophet & omnipresent?" (Barelwis), "Did the Ṣaḥāba celebrate Mawlid?" (Deobandīs), "Is not jihād obsolete?" (pacifists), "Are women not equal to men?" (feminists) "Is it not time for a moratorium on Sharī'a?" (secularists), etc.

⁴⁴⁰ Narrated from Abū Hurayra by Muslim, al-Nasā'ī, and Aḥmad as part of a longer ḥadīth.

Refraining from Paraphrasing (al-Imsāk 'an al-Taṣarruf)

To refrain from paraphrasing those reports and verses means to quote them exactly as spoken by Allāh and His Prophet without paraphrasing them, neither through explanation (tafsīr) nor interpretation (ta'wīl), nor rephrasing them through grammatical derivation (taṣrīf).

Qur'anic explanation must not substitute the wordings of expressions with different words nor may they stand in place of one another. For a word can be used metaphorically in a given expression at the exclusion of another, and can have a shared meaning within a certain expression at the exclusion of another. Substitution will cause discourse to become inflated by the cancellation of the metaphor and the assumption that one of the shared meanings is actually meant.

Qur'anic figurative interpretation (ta'wil), on the other hand, dismisses the external meaning $(al-z\bar{a}hir)$ and adheres to what is considered the less likely meaning $(al-marj\bar{u}h)$. The layman who does this has plunged into a sea without shores and cannot swim. As for the learned person, he may not do this unless he fulfills the necessary conditions of figurative interpretation. He

242

⁴⁴¹ An example of forbidden taṣrif is to derive from the verses of istiwā' the inference that Allāh Most High is mustawin or "established" over the Throne. Such an Attribute is not ordained by Allāh (ghayr tawqīfī) even if inferred from the Divine act of istiwā'. Someone actually compiled a book on the Divine Names in which he entitled one of his chapters "The Wrathful Obliterator" (al-Mudamdim) which he derived from the verse "fa-damdama 'alayhim rabbuhum" (91:14)!

245

must not discuss it with a layman as the latter is incapable of comprehending it.

Ceasing Cogitation (Kaff al-Bāṭin)

Ceasing to think about it [the meaning of the Attributes] is so that one not be preoccupied with something that may amount to disbelief and which one may become unable to dismiss – nor can anyone else dismiss it from him. 442

Believing Firmly in the Knowledge of the Prophet 器 (I' tiqād 'Ilm al-Nabī 鑄)

Let one know with firm conviction that the Prophet knows all this [i.e., the meanings]. Let none compare himself to the Prophet nor to his Companions, nor to the major Ulema [in this respect]. Hearts are vessels of varying capacity and gems of varying intensity.

⁴⁴² Most helpful here is the rule spelled out toward the end of Imām Abū Ḥanīfa's al-Fiqh al-Akbar: "If someone experiences difficulty with the subtleties of the science of Divine unity, it is incumbent upon him to believe (without further investigation) what is correct in the sight of God Most High until he finds a scholar to consult. He should not delay in seeking such a scholar, for hesitation and suspension of judgment may result in unbelief." (Translation by Hamid Algar.)



Kalām Dialectic in the Qur'ān and the Rejection of Imitation

We proceed with two points. The first⁴⁴³ is the upholding of transcendence beyond any notion of direction. We have seen that the literalists have searched in vain in the narrations and reports. The reader is well apprised of what is in them. They have not been able to find one Companion nor one Successor who says what they say. Even so, men are known by the fact that they hold fast to the truth. Truth is not known by discovering what men hold.⁴⁴⁴

Abū Dāwūd narrated in his *Sunan* from Muʿādh [84] that the latter said: "Accept the truth from whoever states it, even if he is a disbeliever" (*kāfir*) – or he said: "even if he is a transgressor" (*fāsiq*) – "and beware the error of the wise man." They asked: "How will we know that the disbeliever is telling the truth?" He replied: "Truly, light shines over the truth." He spoke the truth – may Allāh be well-pleased with him!

⁴⁴³ The second point is mentioned in §281.

⁴⁴⁴ More than that, as our teacher Dr. Nur al-Din 'Itr says, when asked about Ibn Taymiyya: "The mistakes of the great are the greatest mistakes."

⁴⁴⁵ Narrated from Mu'ādh mawqūf with a sound chain by Abū Dāwūd but with the word "hypocrite" (munāfiq) rather than "disbeliever" or "transgressor;" al-Ḥākim (4:466 ṣaḥīḥ per Muslim's criterion), and al-Bayhaqī in the Sunan al-Kubrā (10:210).

Indeed, if the necklace of imitation were placed on every neck, we would no longer be safe lest some disbeliever bring us whatever is held in great esteem in his community and tell us, "Know the truth by this."

Now that the reader realizes that those [literalists] cannot be relied upon for pure transmission, know that Allāh addresses none other than those who possess minds, hearts, and insights. The Qur'ān is replete with this affirmation. The mind is the appraiser of the existence of Allāh and His Oneness, and the mind is the demonstrator of the Message of His Prophet. For there is no way to establish all this through transmission. Hence, the Law has declared the mind trustworthy and accepted its testimony, and Allāh has used the mind as a proof in certain passages of His Book.

For example, Allāh sused the fact of man's original creation as a [rational] proof for man's [forthcoming] resurrection. He said: {And he has coined for Us a similitude and has forgotten the fact of his creation, saying: Who will revive these bones when they have rotted away? Say: He will revive them Who first produced them!} (36:78-79). With these verses Allāh sidestroyed the findings of the philosophers who deny bodily resurrection.

Allāh salso used the mind as a proof for absolute Divine Oneness when He said, {If there were therein Gods beside Allāh, then verily both the heavens and the earth would have been disordered} (21:22). He also said, {Nor is there any God along with Him, else would each God have assuredly championed that which he created, and some of them would assuredly have overcome others} (23:91). He also said, {Have they not considered the dominion of the heavens and the earth?} (7:185). And He said, {Say: Behold what is in the heavens and the earth!} (10:101). [85]

249

250

And He said, {Say: I exhort you unto one thing only: that you awake, for the sake of Allāh, in pairs and singly, and then reflect} (34:46). And He said, {We shall show them Our portents on the horizon and within themselves} (41:53).

Therefore, woe to them who reject a witness Allāh Himself accepts, and invalidate a proof put up by Him! For they cancel all such proofs and refer to the positions of their teachers! Should one of those teachers be asked about [the proof for] his Religion, he would not have the wherewithal to establish it. Should he be confronted in the dialectical battlefield he would fall silent after saying, "I heard the people say something and so I said it." The narration of the sun's eclipse in al-Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ describes what such people say in their graves. 446

This is why reason plays its role. It is the criterion upon which legal responsibility hangs and because of which Allāh holds people to account. Allāh has accepted its testimony and upheld it, establishing with it the foundations of His Religion.

At the same time, reason bears witness to the corruption of that school of thought [i.e. literalism] which has sunk to the point of describing Allāh as endowed with defects and imperfections. Exalted is He beyond what the wrongdoers claim!

⁴⁴⁶ Narrated from 'Ā'isha by al-Bukhārī and Muslim.



Warnings of the Great Sufi Shaykhs against Literalism

The Shaykhs of the Path have warned about the same thing to which reason bore witness and about which the Qur'ān spoke. They did so in a manner comprehensible to the elite yet without alienating the general public. The exposition of what they said has several aspects.

A first demonstration is gathered from him of the pure lineage and high origin, the Master of the Ulema and inheritor of the best of Prophets, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq who said: "Were Allāh in something (fī shay'), he would be surrounded (maḥṣūr)." 447

[86] What this evidence stipulates is that if He were in a direction and one could point at Him, it would follow that He must have limits. For if He were in a given direction as opposed to another, then He "takes place" (haṣala) in that direction exclusively of another. His having limits could not bear any other meaning. But everything endowed with limits is contingent (kullu mutanāhin muḥdath), because its confinement to particular boundaries necessarily supposes someone to specify them.

255

256

⁴⁴⁷ Cf. §31 above.

Through this proof – which is self-evident to the mind – appears the further proof that the attribution of direction [to the Deity] makes it necessary for the Creator to be created, for the Lord to be governed, and for His Divine Essence to be controlled (mutaṣarrafun fīhā), subject to addition and subtraction – greatly exalted is Allāh beyond the claims of the oppressors!

A second demonstration is gathered from the words of al-Shiblī , the Shaykh of the Path and standard of verification, who said: "The All-Merciful exists from pre-eternity while the Throne was created, and the Throne was established and made firm (*istawā*) by the All-Merciful."

What this statement stipulates is that the specific direction Allāh possesses according to them – exalted is He beyond such a thing! – and which they named "the Throne," is either nonexistent or existent. That it should be nonexistent is impossible by agreement. Further, direction can be pointed at with sensory gestures, and sensory gesture to something nonexistent is absurd. So it is existent. If it is existent, then [it is either with or without beginning]. If it is without beginning together with Allāh sh, then something other than Allāh and His Attributes has been found for us that is without beginning, so we cannot know which comes first! And this is the repulsiveness of this doctrine. And if it has a beginning, then spatial confinement (altaḥayyuz) has taken place for Allāh and He is therefore subject to contingent self-attributes (sifāt nafsiyya ḥāditha) – exalted is Allāh beyond any such notion!

[87] A third demonstration is gathered from the spokesman of the Path, standard-bearer of the truth, physician of hearts and signpost of the Beloved, Abū al-Qāsim al-Junayd & who said:

259

260

⁴⁴⁸ Cf. \$29 above.

"How could He Whom nothing and no one resembles or compares to, ever join (*yattaṣilu*) with one whom something resembles and to whom something compares?" 449

What this demonstration shows is that, if He were in a direction, He is either larger, equal, or smaller [than that direction], together with the requirement of its surrounding [Him]. If He is larger, then the extent of Him that overlaps it differs from the extent of Him that lies beyond it. It follows that He is made up of parts and segments, which is impossible. Every complex thing is in need of its constituent units and its units are other than it, so every complex thing is in need of other than it, and something that is in need of something else is not a God. If He has the same extent as the direction when the latter is divisible since it is possible to point sensorily to its constituent parts then whatever is on par with something divisible is also divisible. If He is smaller - greatly exalted is Allah beyond such a notion! - then He equals at least an indivisible atom (jawharin fardin), for they have satisfied themselves that their God is the size of an atom. No reasonable person, however, believes such a thing - although no reasonable person subscribes to their School in the first place. But such an elementary notion even an ignorant Zanzibārī would find laughable. Yet, if He is larger, then He is divisible. Look at this creed of theirs and see its conclusions! Exalted is Allah beyond such notions.

A fourth demonstration is gathered from Ja'far ibn Nuṣayr. When he was asked about the saying of Allāh # {The Merciful established Himself over the Throne} (20:4), he said: "His knowledge applies equally (istawā) to all things, and nothing is closer to Him than something else." 450

262

⁴⁴⁹ Cf. §25 above.

⁴⁵⁰ Cf. §30 above.

[88] What this demonstration shows is that the attribution of directions to Him is undifferentiated ('alā al-taswiya); therefore, it is impermissible that He lie in a certain direction.

What plainly shows that the attribution of direction to Him is undifferentiated is the fact that direction, as we have already seen, is something existent, and that if such existence is without beginning together with Allāh , it would necessarily follow that there are two pre-existent entities that are discrete in their essences (lazima wujūdu qadīmayni mutamayyizayni bidhātayhimā). If they were not discrete in their essences, then the direction would be Allāh and Allāh would be the direction – exalted is Allāh beyond such notions!

But if direction is not pre-existent, then to specify it for Him is either because His Essence requires it, in which case the Essence affects the Attributes of self (yalzamu kawnu al-dhāti fā'ilatan fīl-ṣifāti al-nafsiyya); or because such specification is not through the Essence. In the latter case, the attribution of direction to Him is undifferentiated and to deem any direction likelier than another is a matter extraneous to His Essence which would make Him necessarily dependent on other than Him in the matter of that specification.

Further, to possess a specific direction is unmitigated spatial confinement (al-ikhtiṣāṣu bil-jiha huwa 'ayn al-taḥayyuz). Such an attribute is subsistent in the essence of what is spatially confined. This would make it necessary for Him, in His very Essence, to depend on someone else, which is impossible for Allāh !!

265

266

Leave Qur'ānic Exegesis to its Experts

To conclude, know that the demonstrations we have just enumerated after receiving them from the Shaykhs of the Path they themselves only inferred from the Glorious Book. But not everything that is in the Glorious Book can be known by one and all. Each can only scoop up what his vessel can contain, no more and no less.

The Predecessors used to extract from the Glorious Book the foreknowledge of numerous wars and tribulations. Ibn Barrajān [Abū al-Ḥakam 'Abd al-Salām ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad al-Andalusī al-Ishbīlī (d. 536)] – Allāh have mercy on him! – inferred [from Sūrat al-Rūm] the conquest of al-Qudus at the hand of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and the year he would conquer it [583]. A later scholar inferred from Sūrat al-Rūm the indication of something that would take place in the year 673. Ka'b al-Aḥbār inferred from the Torah that 'Abd Allāh ibn

⁴⁵¹ Cf. al-Nu aymī (d. 978), al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris (Shams al-Dīn ed. 1:174); al-Dhahabī, Siyar (Risāla ed. 21:360); Ibn Kathīr, Bidāya (12:326-328); al-Suyūtī, Tārīkh al-Khulafā' (p. 454); Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-A'yān (4:230); Ibn 'Imād, Shadharāt (2:337-338); etc.

Qilāba would enter {many-columned Iram} (89:7) and that none other would enter it. 452 He would infer from it much of what was to happen to the Companions and what the armies of Shām were to face. This is a well-known fact.

[89] Allāh Most High revealed in His Book that from which one of His servants might understand many things while another might not understand a single one of those things.

[Similarly,] levels and ranks differ in the ability to extract rulings from the words of the jurists and meanings from the compositions of the poets.

270

⁴⁵² Cf. al-Qurtubi, Tafsir (20:47), Ibn Khaldun, Muqaddima (p. 14), Yaqut, Mu'jam al-Buldan (1:157), al-Shawkani, Fath al-Qadir (5:435), and al-Alusi, Rüh al-Ma' ani (30:123).

Qur'ānic Proofs Negating Direction

As for what the Glorious Book said in negation of direction, it is known to the elite and the common public does not feel aversion to it. Take, for example, the verse {there is nothing whatsoever like Him} (42:11). If a certain direction contained Him, He would be like something contained in that part. Similarly, the verse {Know you one that can be named like Him?} (19:65). Ibn 'Abbās said [it means]: "Do you know anyone like Him (hal ta'lamu lahu mithlan)?"

The same is understood from His Name {al-Qayyūm} (2:255, 3:2, 20:111...) with its emphatic form, meaning that He is Self-Subsistent while everything other than Him subsists through Him. If He lay in a direction, He would subsist through something else.

The same is understood from His saying, {al-Muṣawwir} (59:24). If He were in a direction He would be fashioned, either by Himself or by another, both of which are impossible.

272

273

⁴⁵³ Narrated from Ibn 'Abbās by Ibn Abī Ḥātim in his Tafsīr as cited by Ibn Ḥajar in Fath al-Bārī (6:468) and from Mujāhid by al-Ṭabarī in his Tafsīr (16:106).

- The same is understood from His saying, {and eight will uphold the Throne of their Lord that day, above them} (69:17). If He were literally on the Throne, He would be carried.
- The same is understood from His saying, {Everything will perish save His countenance} (28:88). The Throne is doomed to perish, and if He were initially not in a direction, then entered into a direction, then departed from that direction, He would be subject to change, which is impossible for Allah ...
- [90] Since the impostor realizes fully that the Qur'ān is replete with these facts and signs, he claims: "The probative tenor of these facts is like double-entendres (alghāz)!"454
- Did this deluded man not realize that the secrets of doctrinal beliefs, which are a closed book to the minds of the common public, remain inaccessible except in such fashion? And where in the Qur'ān is the negation of anthropomorphism found except in the form of double-entendres?
- Do sharp minds take pride in anything other than the inference of hidden meanings? For example, al-Shāfiʿī inferred Consensus (al-ijmāʿ) from the saying of Allāh , {And whosoever opposes the Messenger after the guidance (of Allāh) has been manifested unto him, and follows other than the believers' way, We appoint for him that unto which he himself has turned, and expose him unto hell a hapless journey's end!} (4:115). Juridical analogy (qiyās) was inferred from His saying, {So learn a lesson, O you who have eyes} (59:2). Similarly, al-Shāfiʿī inferred the option [of post-purchase competing negotiations] as long as the transactors have not parted (khiyār al-majlis), from the Prophet's interdiction that "no man should enter competitively into a transaction which his brother is already conducting."

⁴⁵⁴ Cf. Ḥamawiyya (p. 240 cf. p. 272) = Majmūʻ al-Fatāwā (5:19 cf. p. 5:26).

⁴⁵⁵ Narrated from Ibn 'Umar and Abū Hurayra by al-Bukhārī and Muslim.

The gist of the matter is that the Prophet never held the public responsible for any doctrine other than Lā ilāha illAllāh Muḥammadun Rasūlullāh, as Mālik replied to al-Shāfiʿī. 456 He left the rest to Allāh. Never were any but a few limited words heard from him and his Companions on that subject. This is an example of something hidden which is intimated through double-entendre.

456 Cf. §18.



Qur'ān and Sunna Yield No Evidence for Anthropomorphists

The second point⁴⁵⁷ is the invalidation of the misrepresentations of the impostor concerning the position of the *mutakallimūn* that the Qur'ān and Sunna contain things that outwardly suggest aspects from which Allāh is exempt and exalted.

We say that Allāh said: {He it is Who has revealed unto you (Muḥammad) definitive [i.e. unabrogated and unambiguous] verses (āyāt muḥkamāt) which are the substance of the Book and others which are ambiguous (mutashābihāt). But those in whose hearts is deviance pursue the ambiguous, seeking (to cause) dissension by seeking to explain it. None knows its explanation save Allāh(*) – and those who are of sound instruction, they say: We believe therein; the whole is from our Lord; but only possessors of understanding really heed} (3:7). 458

457 Continuation of the first point mentioned in §246.

281

^{458 &}quot;The vast majority consider that a pause comes at the Name (*), and have declared it a mandatory pause (waaf lāzim). This is the literal meaning, for taˈwīl is the meaning which Allāh ﷺ meant, and in reality none knows that meaning except Allāh ﷺ, and there is no God beside Him. Whosoever speaks concerning its meaning is speaking only according to what is shown to him, and no one can say: 'This interpretation is what Allāh

- This verse indicates that the Qur'an contains both what is clear and what is ambiguous. Servants are instructed to turn over the interpretation of the ambiguous to {Allah and those who are of sound instruction}.
- This said, we can add that the reason Prophethood did not provide textual stipulations or elucidations for the ambiguities (lam ta'ti al-nubuwwatu bil-naṣṣi zāhiran 'alā al-mutashābih) is only [91] because the greatest part of the objective of Prophethood is the right guidance of humanity as a whole. Since most [of the Qur'ān] is unambiguous and since we have curbed the uneducated public from probing the ambiguities, the objective is met, except when Allāh foreordains for them a devil that tempts them and leads them to destruction. If the ambiguities were all brought to light (law uzhira al-mutashābih), the minds of people would be incapable of comprehending them.

Also, among the benefits of the ambiguities is [to bring out] the loftiness of the ranks of the Ulema one over another – as Allāh said, {and over every possessor of knowledge there is one more knowing} (12:76) – and the obtainment of additional rewards by striving to understand them for oneself and explain them to others, learning them and teaching them.

meant' categorically." Al-Qārī, Mirqāt al-Mafātīh (1892 ed 2:136-137 = 1994 ed. 3:298-301). As al-Qārī goes on to say, the majority stop at the name of Allāh but both readings are possible, as stated by al-Suyūṭī in al-Itqān (1:264), al-Rāghib in Mufradāt Alfāz al-Qurʾān, Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī in al-Muqṣid li-Talkhīṣ mā fil-Murshid (p. 45), al-Dānī in al-Muktafā (p. 195-197), and others. The Prophet defined those who are firmly grounded in knowledge partly as "Those whose oaths are kept, whose tongues are truthful, whose hearts are upright, and whose stomachs and genitals are abstinent. They are among those who are firmly grounded in knowledge." Narrated from Abū al-Dardā', Abū Umāma, Wāthila, and Anas by al-Ṭabarānī in al-Kabīr (8:152 \$7658).

287

289

Furthermore, if these ambiguities were absolutely plain and selfevident, people would not need to learn all the sciences. They would have been abandoned. The Book would have been clear by itself and none of the auxiliary sciences would have been needed to understand His Speech.

Furthermore, the discourse that uses ambiguities refers to things people hold in tremendous esteem and respect, although the matter is greater yet. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Mājishūn referred to this with regard to the handful (al-qabḍa) [in the verse {The whole earth is His handful on the Day of Resurrection} (39:67)]. 459

The same holds for the saying of Allāh & concerning the bliss of 288 the people of Paradise:

{Among thornless lote trees and clustered plantains, and spreading shade, and water gushing, and fruit in plenary, neither out of reach nor yet forbidden, and raised couches – Lo! We have created them a (new) creation and made them virgins, lovers, friends, for those on the right hand.}

(56:28-38)

All this is held in tremendous esteem and respect, although there is in Paradise greater than that.

These blessings are just as the Prophet said on behalf of Allāh : "I have prepared for My righteous servants what no eyes have ever seen, nor ears ever heard, nor minds ever wandered upon!" 460

⁴⁵⁹ Cf. §185.

⁴⁶⁰ Narrated from Abū Hurayra by al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Tirmidhi (hasan ṣaḥiḥ), Ibn Mājah, Aḥmad, and al-Dārimī, and from Sahl ibn Saʿd al-Sāʿidī by Muslim and Aḥmad. Cf. the sound saying of Ibn ʿAbbās: "There is nothing of Paradise in the lower world except the names." Narrated by Ibn Abī Ḥātim in his Tafsīr, al-Bayhaqī with a good chain according to al-Mundhirī, al-Diyāʾ al-Maqdisī in al-Mukhtāra and others.

- We ask Allāh the Almighty to let our final abode be in Paradise, to enlighten the vision of our hearts and eyesights, and to let this work serve solely for His most noble Countenance.
- We are keeping a close watch for any other misrepresentations and corruptions of his that he might produce in the future so that we might expose his wayward paths and recalcitrance and so that we might {strive for Allāh with the endeavor which is His right} (22:78). And praise belongs to Allāh, Lord of the worlds!

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya

Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Sa'd, Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Zur'ī al-Dimashqī al-Ḥanbalī, known as Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751), was a specialist in *tafsīr*, ḥadīth, *fiqh* and its principles, Arabic philology and grammar who became the foremost student and follower of Ibn Taymiyya, whose anthropomorphic and anti-*taqlīd* teachings he helped perpetuate.

Ibn al-Qayyim followed the same path as his teacher in his infamous poem entitled al-Qaṣīdat al-Nūniyya ("Ode Rhyming in the Letter N"). This lengthy poem on the tenets of faith is filled with corrupt suggestions about the Divine Attributes, which Shaykh al-Islām al-Taqī al-Subkī analyzes in detail in al-Sayf al-Ṣaqīl fīl-Radd 'alā Ibn Zafīl ("The Burnished Sword in Refuting Ibn Zafīl" i.e. Ibn al-Qayyim). Al-Subkī gave the verdict that the anthropomorphisms of the Divinity in the poem were beyond the pale of Islām. The poem could not be circulated openly in Ibn al-Qayyim's lifetime but he never abandoned it, for the Ḥanbalī historian Ibn Rajab heard it from its author in the year of his death. 461

⁴⁶¹ As stated in his *Dhayl Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila* (2:448).

Today, some "Salafi" followers quote this poem indiscriminately, heedless of the deviations it promotes. 462

The Ulema found other problems with Ibn al-Qayyim's positions, among them the following innovations in the various branches of the Islamic sciences:

- In 'Aqīda: see al-Sayf al-Ṣaqīl 'alā Nūniyyat Ibn Zafīl, the refutation by Shaykh al-Islām Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī of Ibn al-Qayyim's al-Qaṣīda al-Nūniyya in which he commits overt anthropomorphism and ascribes the Ash'arī School to the despised Jahmiyya. His Hādī al-Arwāḥ, an otherwise useful book on the description of the Hereafter, recirculates his Shaykh's aberrant views on the finality of Hellfire.
- In *Uṣūl al-fiqh*: see 'Allāma Ḥabīb al-Kirānawī's 100-page point-by-point refutation excerpted below titled *al-Dīn al-Qayyim* in which he blasts Ibn al-Qayyim's anti-taqlīd theses and revilement of the *Fuqahā*' over the issue in *I'lām al-Muwaqqi'īn*. In the latter book, Ibn al-Qayyim claims that Imām Aḥmad said "Whoever says there is such a thing as *Ijmā*' has lied" yet goes on to say there is *Ijmā*' about ten or more matters in the same book alone! It is not actually true that Imām Aḥmad said this but it is only claimed by Ibn Ḥazm that he said something interpretable as this. (The same Ibn Ḥazm authored a large book on all the positions that form *Ijmā*' in Islām.)

⁴⁶² See Shaykh Nüh Keller's remarks in his Reliance of the Traveller (p. 1058).

⁴⁶³ See the clarification on this false claim about Imām Ahmad in 'Abd Allāh al-Ghumāri's al-Sayf al-Battār li-Man Sabba al-Nabī al-Mukhtār (Cairo: Maktabat al-Qāhira, 1996) p. 38-41, originally written against both Salman Rushdie and Nāṣir al-Albānī.

- In Sīra: Abū Ḥāmid ibn Marzūq, nom de plume for Shaykh Muḥammad al-ʿArabī ibn al-Tubbānī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Idrīsī al-Ḥasanī al-Jazāʾirī al-Saṭīfī al-Makkī al-Mālikī (1315-1390), teacher of both Sayyid ʿAlawī ibn ʿAbbās al-Mālikī and his son Muḥammad, wrote al-Taʿaqqub al-Mufīd ʿalā Hadyī al-Zurʿī al-Shadīd (Damascus, 1387/1967) in which he listed about 49 points in which Ibn al-Qayyim erred in his sīra book Zād al-Maʿād in rulings pertaining to the Pillars or other topics in ʿaqīda and sīra.
- In Ḥadīth: His slant in 'aqīda caused him to endorse forgeries and Isrā'īliyyāt and declare as saḥīḥ weak reports beyond reasonable boundaries in his book Ijtimā' al-Juyūsh al-Islāmiyya in the same fashion as his Shaykh in the latter's Fatwā Ḥamawiyya, Minhāj al-Sunna al-Nabawiyya, and other works, which detracted from both their ranks in Hadīth scholarship as is known among its experts. See on this Imam al-Lacknawi's words on Ibn Taymiyya in al-Raf' wal-Takmil with Shaykh 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda's notes. An example: "From Ibn Wahb, from Yaḥyā ibn Ayyūb, from Abū Hind, from Anas who said: The Messenger of Allah & said: 'Honor the cow, for truly she is the leader of the beasts of burden, she did not raise her eyes to the heaven out of shame before Allah Most High since the calf was worshipped": "I [Ibn al-Qayyim] say: Attributing it to the Prophet sis not firmly established (ghayr thābit) because Abū Hind is unknown (majhūl). The point is that this [i.e. believing that Allah is on top of the sky is the primordial disposition instilled by Allāh, even in animals, and even the dumbest of them which is used to illustrate dumbness, namely, the cow"! The true verdict is not that the narration is "not firmly

established because Abū Hind is unknown" as Ibn al-Qayyim claims but rather that it is fabricated by 'Abd Allāh ibn Wahb al-Fasawī [or Nasawī] whom Ibn Ḥibbān named a dajjāl and forger as in al-Dhahabi's al-Mughnī fīl-Du 'afā' and Mīzān al-I' tidāl. The above narration was therefore included among the forgeries by the Masters of ḥadīth, most of them agreeing that 'Abd Allāh ibn Wahb had fabricated it. Hind al-Qayyim ignores or pretends to ignore that verdict, diverts the discussion to Abū Hind, giving the innocuous verdict "not firmly established" while nevertheless proceeding to promote his anthropomorphist doctrine on the very grounds of that narration, which is his primary purpose.

In the same vein, Ibn al-Qayyim strenuously defends the authenticity of a long unknown-chained (musalsal bilmajāhīl), disclaimed (munkar) narration on the end of times which contains the wording "In the morning, your Lord roamed the earth, all of which had been dispopulated" (faaṣbaḥa rabbuka yaṭūfu fīl-arḍi wa-khalat 'alayhi al-bilād). 465

tes Cf. al-Shawkānī in al-Fawā'id al-Majmū'a (al-Maktab al-Islāmī ed. p. 161 \$502); al-Suyūṭī in al-La'āli' al-Maṣnū'a (1981 ed. 2:227=2:277); Ibn al-Jawzī in al-Mawddu'āt (Salafiyya ed. 3:3); al-Fattanī in Tadhkirat al-Mawdū'āt (p. 152-153); al-Dhahabī in Tartīb al-Mawdū'āt (\$732) while in Talkhīṣ al-Mawdū'āt (\$642) he faults Ibn al-Jawzī's identification of 'Abd Allāh ibn Wahb al-Nasawī and seems to believe it is 'Abd Allāh ibn Wahb al-Fihrī, which Ibn 'Arrāq rejects in Tanzīh al-Sharī'a (2:238-239).

**Solution **Narrated by 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad in al-Sunna (Qaḥṭāni ed. 2:486=Zaghlūled.p. 176-179 \$951) and his Ziyādāt to his father's Musnad (Risāla ed. 26:121-128 \$16206), Ibn Abī 'Āṣim in al-Sunna (p. 287), and al-Ṭabarānī in al-Kabīr (19:211-213 \$477) while al-Ḥākim (4:560-564) omits the offending passage. Cf. Ibn al-Qayyim, Zād al-Ma'ād (3:54-57=3:588-599). Albānī twice states that its chain is "weak" in his edition of Ibn Abī 'Āṣim (p. 231 and p. 289) whereas its optimal grading is "very weak" as implied by Ibn Kathīr's expression "gharīb jiddan, fī ba'di alfāzihi nakāra" in the Bidāya (5:80-82) and Ibn Ḥajar's identical terms in Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb (5:75 s.v. 'Āṣim ibn Laqīṭ). In addition, al-Arna'ūṭ in his Musnad marginalia (26:128) mentioned that "one of those who affiliate themselves to the craft of ḥadīth in our time" (ba'duman yantahilu ṣinā' at al-ḥadīthifī 'aṣrinā), i.e., al-Albānī, adduced it to upgrade another weak ḥadīth to the rank of ḥasan in his Silsila Ṣahīha (\$2810) in violation of the rule that very weak reports cannot be used to upgrade others.

In the course of his discussion he tries to boost his documentation by citing 'Abd Allah ibn Ahmad, Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, al-Ţabarānī, Ibn Mandah, Ibn Mardūyah, Abū al-Shaykh, and Abū Nu'aym. As Abū Ghudda points out, "he knows better than anyone else that their books are replete with weak, disclaimed, and forged reports!"466 Another time, Ibn al-Qayyim adduces this very passage to support his and his teacher Ibn Taymiyya's creed that Allah "comes to earth on the Day of Resurrection without ceasing to remain above His heavens on His Throne" (wa-kadhālika majī'uhu ilā alardi... yawma al-qiyama... hadha wa-huwa fawga samawatihi 'alā 'arshih)!467 Imām 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī had warned two centuries earlier: "His saying 'your Lord roamed the earth' is only a periphrasis to explain (tagrīb wa-tafhīm) that everyone on earth will die and that it shall remain deserted."468

Nevertheless, Zād al-Ma'ād is an impressive mine of information and contains shining pages on jihād al-nafs as does his Fawā'id. Shaykh Muḥammad 'Akīlī served the Ţibb al-Nabawī part of Zād al-Ma'ād with his translation titled Prophetic Medicine. Al-Manār al-Munīf on weak and forged ḥadīths received a thoroughly researched edition by Abū Ghudda. Madārij al-Sālikīn, Rawdat al-Muḥibbīn, and Miftāḥ Dār al-Sa'āda contain benefits on taṣawwuf. The late Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghanī 'Abd al-Khāliq made use of I'lām al-Muwaqqi'īn in his Ḥujjiyyat al-Sunna from which our monograph The Binding Proof of the Sunna was adapted. 469

468 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī, al-'Āqiba (p. 259).

 ⁴⁶⁶ Abū Ghudda, marginalia on al-Lacknawi's al-Ajwibat al-Fāḍila (p. 131).
 467 Ibn al-Qayyim, al-Rūḥ ('Ilmiyya ed. p. 102=Ibn Kathīr ed. p. 268).

⁴⁶⁹ To be published as the third volume of our Sunna Notes series in shā Allāh.

Ibn al-Qayyim's "Book of the Soul" (*Kitāb al-Rūḥ*) ranks among the best books on the subject of the Islamic understanding of life after death according to the Qur'ān, the Sunna, and the doctrine of the *Salaf* and the Four Imāms, establishing without doubt that the dead hear the living and know of them. Since this hearing of the dead is a contradiction of the fundamental Wahhābī tenet that the dead cannot hear the living, mumblings are sometimes heard about the authenticity of his authorship of the book among the "Salafīs." However, the book is undoubtedly by Ibn al-Qayyim and is attributed to him by over two dozen scholars both in his time and after. It also contains internal proofs of his authorship, such as his mention of his own book – now lost – entitled *Ma'rifat al-Rūḥ wal-Nafs*⁴⁷² and his identifying two of his direct teachers as Abū al-Ḥajjāj (al-Mizzī), and Ibn Taymiyya:

"Our shaykh Abū al-Ḥajjāj, the ḥadīth Master, used to say that." 473

"I heard Shaykh al-Islām, Ibn Taymiyya stress this..."474

⁴⁷⁰ Cf. Albānī's remark in his notes on al-Alūsī's al-Āyāt al-Bayyināt (p. 22): "See the book al-Rūḥ attributed to Ibn al-Qayyim, for it contains the strangest and oddest narrations and opinions"! But there is virtually nothing in al-Rūḥ which cannot also be found or confirmed in al-Qurṭubī's al-Tadhkira, Ibn Rajab's Ahwāl al-Qubūr, 'Abd al-Ḥaqq ibn al-Kharrāṭ's al-ʿĀqiba, al-Suyūṭī's Sharḥ al-Ṣudūr, Ibn Abī al-Dunyā's al-Qubūr, etc.

⁴⁷¹ Al-Dhahabī (d. 748) in al-Mu' jam al-Mukhtasş bil-Muḥaddithīn (fo. 145), al-Şafadī (d. 764) in A' yān al-' Aṣr (fo. 129) and al-Wāfī bil-Wafayāt (2:170-172), al-Ḥusaynī (d. 765) in Dhayl al-' Ibar (5:282), Ibn Kathīr (d. 774) in al-Bidāya wal-Nihāya (14:234), Ibn Rafī' (d. 774) in al-Wafayāt (2:6-7), Ibn Rajab (d. 795) in Dhayl Tabaqāt al-Ḥanābila (2:447), Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn (d. 842) in al-Radd al-Wāfīr (p. 68), Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852) in al-Durar al-Kāmina (3:400), al-Biqā'ī (d. 885) in Sirr al-Rūh (introduction), etc.

⁴⁷² "We mentioned this in our large book, Ma'rifat al-Rūḥ wal-Nafs..." Ibn al-Qayyim, al-Rūḥ (1975 ed. p. 38=1998 ed. p. 125).

⁴⁷³ Ibn al-Qayyim, *al-Rūḥ* (1975 ed. p. 37=1998 ed. p. 122).

⁴⁷⁴ Ibn al-Qayyim, al-Rūḥ (1975 ed. p. 83=1998 ed. p. 227).

"Our shaykh said: 'The sun itself does not descend from the heaven, and the sunrays that are on earth are neither the sun nor its attribute, but an accident ('arad) caused by the sun and the mass (jirm) opposite it." This is taken verbatim from Ibn Taymiyya's notorious "Explanation of the hadīth of the descent of Allāh." Another internal proof is Ibn al-Qayyim's lapsing into excessive criticism of Ash'arīs and misattributions of spurious positions to them as is typical of him and his teacher, although in much of his book he cites from al-Tadhkira, a book by the Ash'arī scholar al-Qurṭubī.

Ibn al-Qayyim violently attacked adherence to the Four Schools of Law among traditional Sunni Muslims and voiced his antimadhhab stance in a two-volume work on the principles of the Law entitled I'lām al-Muwaqqi'īn. In the latter book he rejects the evidence that the Companions and great Imāms endorsed imitation as inapplicable to later generations and instead advocates a kind of populist ijtihād in which every Muslim is his own Imām and is urged to apply his or her own mind toward interpreting the Qur'ān and Sunna independently, untrammelled by the burdensome qualifications in jurisprudence, language, hadīth methodology, and the Qur'ānic sciences that are required for ijtihād. It is enough refutation of this Islamically-veiled Protestantism that Imām Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī said: "If the Companions had made ablution to the wrists I swear I would have done the same, even as I read the verse of ablution as stating {to}

476 Ibn Taymiyya, Majmūʻ al-Fatāwā (5:438).

⁴⁷⁵ Ibn al-Qayyim, al-Rūh (1975 ed. p. 45=1998 ed. p. 141).

⁴⁷⁷ "This is a position rejected by the Book, the Sunna, the Consensus of the Companions, as well as the evidence given by reason, common sense, and Pristine Disposition, and is the position of one who does not know his own soul let alone the souls of others!" Ibn al-Qayyim, *al-Rūh* (1975 ed. p. 111=1998 ed. p. 286).

the elbows} (5:6)."⁴⁷⁸ More explicitly, al-Shāṭibī said: "The fatwās of the *mujtahids* are to the laymen what the *Sharī* a evidences are to the *mujtahids*."⁴⁷⁹

The Indian jurist and ḥadīth scholar Ḥabīb Aḥmad al-Kirānawī blasted Ibn al-Qayyim's theses in a 100-page epistle entitled al-Dīn al-Qayyim's in which he states:

[Ibn al-Qayyim] said: "Your claim that the imitator (muqallid) is closer to being right by imitating those who are more knowledgeable than he is, than by exerting his own reasoning (ijtihād) is an empty claim. For the muqallid is like a blind man who does not know whether what fell into his hand is a stick or a viper. Whereas he who leaves taqlīd is a mujtahid who has two rewards if he is correct and one reward if he is incorrect. How then can the blind man's being right and his supposed reward compare with the seeing man's being right, who exerts every effort?" 481

The ignorance, inanity, arrogance, and hostility of the preceding words are not hidden to anyone. For he has equated the *muqallid* with a blind man and the one who leaves *taqlīd* with a seeing man although the latter is blinder than the *muqallid*. If sight consisted in leaving *taqlīd* it would follow that he who most assiduously follows his own opinion must be the most sighted of people, for he is as far from imitation as can be. And if *taqlīd* were blindness then the most assiduous follower of the Messenger of Allāh would be the

⁴⁷⁸ Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī as cited by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī in *al-Jāmi*' *fīl-Sunan* (p. 150 §18).

⁴⁷⁹ As cited by Dr. Salāḥ al-Şāwī in his al-Thawābit wal-Mutaghayyirāt (Cairo: al-Muntadā al-Islāmī, 1994) p. 66.

⁴⁸⁰ Included in full in his *Fawā'id fī 'Ulūm al-Fiqh* in the second volume of the general introduction to al-Tahānawī's *I'lā' al-Sunan* (2:1-99). This epistle is probably one of the most comprehensive rebuttals of "Salafī" anti-madhhabism.

⁴⁸¹ Ibn al-Qayyim, I'lām al-Muwaggi' īn (Dār al-Jīl ed. 2:273).

blindest of people, for he is a pure imitator! Whereas the sighted one sees the truth as does the imitator, while the blind one does not see it, nor does the one who leaves imitation, following his own guidance despite the fact that he is blind and castigating anyone who might imitate the sighted and follow the latter's guidance.

As for exerting every effort, if reward depended on exerting every effort in absolute terms, then the *muqallid* has exerted every effort toward following the truth, having realized that he is incapable to do more than to imitate the knowledgeable person. How then could he be committing a sin and be deprived of reward? But if reward depended on exerting every effort in other than absolute terms then how could he who leaves *taqlīd* be rewarded when he is cutting wood in the dead of night? Is this anything but absurd?

Whoever knows the conditions for being qualified to give legal responses in the Religion of Allāh according to the statements of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, 482 al-Shāfi i, 483 and Ibn al-Mubārak, 484 does not doubt at all that those who leave taqlīd without having achieved those conditions are not allowed to give fatwā on the basis of their opinion and what they have understood of the Book and the Sunna. The reason is that their knowledge is virtually no knowledge. This is a far cry from possessing sight and obtaining reward while being wrong. For theirs is only the bane of the *ijtihād* of the non-mujtahid.

⁴⁸³ See Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's Adab al-Muftī wal-Mustaftī printed before his Fatāwā wa-Masā'il (1:5-133).

⁴⁸² See chapter on Imam Ahmad in our Four Imams and Their Schools.

⁴⁸⁴ He [Ibn al-Mubārak] did not give fatwā except upon the strength and on the basis of transmitted reports." 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Shaqīq as cited by Ibn Abī Ḥātim in his introduction to al-Jarḥ wal-Taʿdīl (p. 262). Ibn al-Qayyim, op. cit.

He [Ibn al-Qayyim] also said: "The muqallid is closer to being right only when he knows that the correct position is with the one he is imitating exclusively of others. At that time he is not a muqallid for him but a follower of the evidence (muttabi' līl-ḥujja). But if he does not know this at all, then how can you claim that he is closer to being right than he who has exerted his every effort and applied all his strength in searching for the truth?" 486

This objection is spurious because the reason that the muqallid is closer to being right is that he is led by the guidance of his Imām who is a mujtahid. His being right is through his Imām's being right, and his being wrong is through his Imām's being wrong. This is other than the one who leaves taqlīd, whose being right is through his own person's being right, and whose being wrong is through his own person's being wrong. Now the error of the mujtahid is less probable than that of the non-mujtahid just as his being correct is more probable than that of the non-mujtahid. It follows that the muqallid is closer to being right than the one who leaves taqlīd as is readily apparent. This puts to rest what is being claimed by this man without understanding the meaning of what he uses for evidence.

He [Ibn al-Qayyim] also said: "The one who is nearest to being right when the Ulema are in dispute is he who adheres to the Divine command [{refer it to Allāh and the Messenger} (4:59)] and refers to the Qur'ān and the Sunna whatsoever they dispute about. As for whoever refers the matter to the

⁴⁸⁵ This reasoning is at the origin of the invented terminology of "Salafis" whereby one "should be a *muttabi*" and not a *muqallid*," and their barefaced prohibition of *taqlīd* as reported of 'Īd 'Abbāsī by al-Būṭī in *al-Lāmadhhabiyya* (p. 99-108).

one he follows exclusively of others, how can he be closer to being right?"⁴⁸⁷

This is worthless sophistry. It is those who are in dispute who are commanded to refer to Allāh and the Messenger. So when the Ulema dispute, it is incumbent upon them to refer to Allāh and the Messenger. But if the ignorant dispute, such as the *muqallid* and other than the *muqallid*, then their referring to Allāh and the Messenger cannot take place except through referral to the 'ālim who knows the Book and the Sunna – not to the Book and the Sunna themselves, for they are ignorant of them. Else, it would necessarily follow that the ignoramus is the arbiter among the Ulema, and nothing is more patently false than such a claim. It is all-too-apparent that what he said is pure sophistry, and it stems from failing to meditate on the Qur'ān. 488

In his <code>Dawābit al-Maṣlaḥa</code>, Dr. Saʿīd al-Būṭī showed that Ibn al-Qayyim blatantly contradicts himself in <code>I'lām al-Muwaqqi'</code> in by violently rejecting <code>khul'</code> as a legal loophole (<code>ḥīla shar'iyya</code>) – in order to avoid the finality of a triple divorce – yet, a few pages later, he recommends the very same loophole.

Ibn al-Qayyim wrote much on *taṣawwuf*, with which he evidently felt strong affinities. In *Miftāḥ Dār al-Saʿāda* he states:

'Ilm al-yaqīn is the first level of the levels of certitude and consists in its knowledge and full awareness. It is an unveiling of the object of knowledge to the heart, by which the latter beholds it without the least doubt, just like the unveiling of the visible to the eye. 'Ayn al-yaqīn is a second

⁴⁸⁷ Ibn al-Qayyim, op. cit.

⁴⁸⁸ Al-Kirānawī, *al-Dīn al-Qayyim* in the second volume of the general introduction to al-Tahānawī's *I'* lā' *al-Sunan* (2:62-63).

level, but related to the eye, just as the first level is related to the heart. Ḥaqq al-yaqīn is a third level consisting in the direct apprehension of the object of knowledge and its full, complete experience. 489

He wrote an extensive commentary on al-Harawī al-Anṣārī's slim Sufi manual entitled *Manāzil al-Sā'irin ilā al-Ḥaqq* which he named *Madārij al-Sālikīn* and in which he said:

Religion is all moral character (khuluq), and whoever bests you in moral character, bests you in Religion. It is the same with taṣawwuf. Al-Kattānī said: Taṣawwuf is moral character, and whoever bests you in moral character, bests you in Religion [...] Truly, the hardest thing for human nature is the modification of the moral qualities and traits with which the selves have been stamped. Those who earnestly engaged in harsh discipline and arduous strivings worked on nothing else. Most of them did not succeed in changing the self, but the latter became fully employed in those exercises and thus unable to wield its influence [...] One day I asked Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymiyya - may Allāh have mercy on him! - about this matter and how to eliminate defects and occupy oneself with the cleansing of one's path. The gist of his reply was that the self is like a garbage pile: the more you dig in it, the more of it comes out to the surface; if you can pave a pathway over it and go past it, do so, and do not preoccupy yourself with digging into it for you shall never reach its bottom! [...] Taşawwuf is one of the cornerstones (zawāyā) of true wayfaring (al-sulūk al-ḥaqīqī) and the purification and disciplining of the self (tazkiyat al-nafs wa-tahdhībuhā) so that it may

⁴⁸⁹ Ibn al-Qayyim, *Miftāḥ Dār al-Saʿāda* (p. 149).

prepare itself for its journey to the company of the Highest Assembly and for being together with its beloved. For "one is with the one he loves" as Sumnūn stated: "The lovers of Allāh have gained the honor of both the world and the hereafter, for 'one is with the one he loves." And Allāh knows best. ⁴⁹¹

⁴⁹⁰ A mass-transmitted hadīth of the Prophet ** narrated from fifteen Companions – as stated by al-Kattānī in *Nazm al-Mutanāthir* – in the Nine Books.

⁴⁹¹ Ibn al-Qayyim, *Madārij al-Sālikīn* (2:307). A Wahhābī bowdlerized this work and republished it as *Tahdhīb Madārij al-Sālikīn*.



Shaykh Wahbī Sulaymān Ghāwjī al-Albānī A Brief Bio-Bibliography 492

Shaykh Wahbī ibn Sulaymān ibn Khalīl Ghāwjī al-Albānī was born in 1932 CE (1343) in Skudera, the former capital city of Albania. He attended classes and learnt the Qur'ān and what is called "the science of states, 'Ilm al-Ḥāl, which includes the books of doctrine and morals for us Ḥanafīs." His first teacher and certifier in the Islamic Sciences was his father Shaykh Sulaymān, who narrates from the Shuyūkh of Albania.

His secondary studies came to an end when King Aḥmad Tūghū made it the law for students to wear the *baretta*. ⁴⁹³ He said: "We migrated to Shām, after which, my father sent me to Egypt and I stayed there for ten years. I learnt Arabic and received a degree from the Faculty of Sharī'a and a specialized degree in Islamic judgeship. I attended the courses of Imām Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī (in exile from Turkey) whose

⁴⁹² Biographical part as told by Shaykh Wahbī in his Damascus home to G.F. Haddad and 'Abd al-Hafidh Wentzel in the month of Rabī' al-Awwal, 1427 / April 2006.

⁴⁹³ From the French *béret*, a round, flat-shaped hat still worn nowadays by many Muslims in the Balkan region, similar to the type Atatürk made compulsory for the Turkish population when he took over and forbade the turban and fez.

hand I was honored to kiss and who handed me his *thabat* or record of authorities (*al-Taḥrīr al-Wajīz fī-mā Yabtaghīhi al-Mustajīz*). However, I narrate from him only through the intermediaries of Shaykh Muḥammad 'Alī al-Murād al-Ḥamawī and Shaykh 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda al-Ḥalabī, Allāh have mercy on all of them!" He described al-Kawtharī as "a Sign of Allāh in learning, modesty and abstinence, as if he were a king walking in the street." This is how we see Shaykh Ghāwjī also.

In 1948 CE he was appointed as a religious teacher in the governmental schools in Damascus, a post he retained until 1980 CE, at which time he left Syria and moved to the Ḥijāz. After several years in al-Madīnat al-Munawwara he moved to the United Arab Emirates where he was appointed a lecturer at the Faculty of Islamic Studies and Arabic in Dubai. In 2000 CE he returned to Damascus where has been living since, teaching at Ma'had al-Fatḥ al-Islāmī and striving to support da'wa in Albania.

Among Shaykh Ghāwjī's teachers beside those already mentioned:

Shaykh 'Ināyat Allāh Nābī al-Shahīr al-Askūbī who narrates from his Macedonian and other *Shuyūkh*;

Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb Dibs wa-Zayt al-Ḥimṣī,

Shaykh Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-Ḥāmid, and

Shaykh Sa'd al-Dīn al-Murād al-Ḥamawī from their Syrian and other *Shuyūkh*;

Sayyid Muḥammad al-ʿArabī ibn al-Tubbānī the author of Barā'at al-Ḥanīfiyyīn (published as Barā'at al-Ash 'ariyyīn) and

Sayyid Muḥammad ibn 'Alawī al-Mālikī from their Meccan and other *Shuyūkh*;

Muftī Muḥammad Shafī' al-'Uthmānī,

his son Muftī Muḥammad al-Taqī the continuator of Shibbīr Aḥmad 'Uthmānī's Fatḥ al-Mulhim 'alā Sharḥi Muslim,

Muftī 'Āshiq Ilāhī al-Murtahinī al-Madanī, and

Sayyid Abū al-Ḥasan al-Nadwī from their Indo-Pakistānī and other Shuyūkh.

Among the works Shaykh Ghāwjī authored and published in Damascus and Beirut:

Abū Ḥanīfata al-Nuʿmān Imām al-Aʾimmat al-Fuqahāʾ, a four-hundred page biography with an edition of the Fiqh al-Akbar which received over a half dozen editions at Dār al-Qalam. It was translated into Persian and published in Teheran in 2003.

Arkān al-Īmān on the branches of faith at Mu'assasat al-Risāla. Arkān al-Islām on the fiqh of the Five Pillars according to the Ḥanafī School, in two volumes at Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyya.

Al-Ḥayāt al-Ākhira: Aḥwāluhā wa-Ahwāluhā wa-Ḥusn 'Āqibati al-Muttaqīna fihā bi-Faḍl Allāh wa-Raḥmatih at Dār al-Bashā'ir, on the states of the hereafter.

Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh: Ṣaḥābiyyun Imāmun wa-Ḥāfizun Faqīh, a biography at Dār al-Qalam.

Kashfu Shubuhāti Man Zaʻama Ḥilla Arbāḥi al-Qurūḍ al-Maṣrafiyya in refutation of those who declared licit bank interests on loans.

Kalimatun 'Ilmiyyatun Hādiyatun fīl-Bid'ati wa-Aḥkāmihā at Dār al-Imām Muslim, a fine, concise study of the Sunni definition of innovation.

Maqālatun fīl-Ribā wal-Fā'idat al-Maṣrafiyya at Mu'assasat al-Rayyān and Dār Ibn Ḥazm, against the legitimization of usury in all its forms.

Al-Mar'atu al-Muslima: {Wa-Laysa al-Dhakaru kal-Unthā} which received many editions at Mu'assasat al-Risāla and Dār al-Qalam, a study on the rulings pertaining to women in Islām.

Masā'il fī 'Ilm al-Tawḥīd, published in al-Shāriqa, which is epitomized at the fore of this volume and is the redacted version of his introduction to Īḍāḥ al-Dalīl [see below].

Min Qaḍāyā al-Mar'ati al-Muslima: Maqālāt fīl-Mar'a at Dār Ibn Ḥazm.

Nazratun 'Ilmiyyatun fī Nisbati Kitābi al-Ibāna Jamī'ihi ilā al-Imām al-Ash'arī, wa-Yalīhi Faṣlun fī Khilāfāt Ahl al-Sunna wal-Khilāfāt al-Manqūla bayna al-Māturīdiyya wal-Ashā'ira at Dār Ibn Ḥazm, a study of probable corruption in the text of al-Ash'arī's Ibāna followed by a review of the diffferences between the Ash'arīs and the Māturīdīs.

Al-Ṣalātu wa-Aḥkāmuhā at Mu'assasat al-Risāla, on the second pillar of Islām.

Al-Shahādatān wa-Aḥkāmuhā at Mu'assasat al-Risāla, on the first pillar of Islām.

Al-Ṣiyāmu wa-Aḥkāmuh at Mu'assasat al-Risāla, on the fourth pillar of Islām.

Al-Taḥdhīr min al-Kabā'ir at Amman's Dar al-Bashīr.

He also wrote important marginalia:

Minaḥ al-Rawḍ al-Azhar on Mullā 'Alī al-Qārī's (d. 1014) Sharḥ al-Fiqh al-Akbar, a classic textbook of Sunni doctrine, at Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyya. Al-Ta'līq al-Muyassar on Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī's (d. 956) recension of Ḥanafī figh, Multaqā al-Abhur.

Muqaddima fī 'Ilm al-Tawḥīd, a long introduction to Īḍāḥ al-Dalīl fī Qaṭ'i Ḥujaji Ahl al-Ta'ṭīl by the Shāfi'ī Egyptian Qāḍī Badr al-Dīn Ibn Jamā'a (694-767), at Cairo's Dār al-Salām, a defense of Sunni doctrine against over-interpreters and anthropomorphists.

On al-Qāsim ibn Sallām's Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān at Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya.

On the Ḥāfiz Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī's (1140-1205) two-volume 'Uqūd al-Jawāhir al-Munīfa fī Adillat Madhhab al-Imām Abī Ḥanīfa on the Ḥanafī proof-texts at Mu'assasat al-Risāla, which Abū Ghudda identified as 'Iqd al-Jawāhir in his biobibliographical introduction to al-Zabīdī's Bulghat al-Arīb fī Muṣṭalaḥi Āthār al-Ḥabīb ఈ.

On al-Kawtharī's (1296-1391) Maḥq al-Taqawwul fī Mas'alat al-Tawassul and Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad 'Ābid al-Sindī's (d. 1257) Ḥawla al-Tawassul wal-Istighātha at Dār al-Bashā'ir, both of them written to clarify the Sunni ruling on using intermediaries and intercessors as opposed to the neo-Mu'tazilīs who deny or downgrade this ruling.

He also wrote prefatory material for the following works:

'Abd al-Karīm Tattān and Muḥammad Adīb al-Kīlānī's *Sharḥ Jawharat al-Tawḥīd* in two volumes at Dār al-Bashā'ir, together with Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm al-Rifā'ī.

Khaldūn Makhlūṭa's 600-page Aḥwāl al-Abrār 'inda al-Iḥtiḍār at Dār al-Bashā'ir, on the states of the pious at the threshold of death, which vastly expands on al-Raba'i's (d. 379) slim Waṣāyā al-'Ulamā' 'inda Ḥuḍūr al-Mawt.

The Amman edition of Imām al-Lacknawī's (d. 1304) Naqd Awhām Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān at Jordan's Dār al-Fath, whose original title is Ibrāz al-Ghayy al-Wāqi' fī Shifā' al-'Ayy.

The translator was honored to read with Shaykh Ghāwjī the Fiqh al-Akbar, the Waṣiyya, the Ṭaḥāwiyya, and the Nasafiyya. May Allah preserve him and continue to benefit the Umma with him, and to Allah the Lord of the worlds belong all praise and thanks.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 'Abd ibn Ḥumayd. Musnad. Eds. Subḥī al-Badrī al-Sāmirā'i and Maḥmūd al-Sa'īdī. Cairo: Maktabat al-Sunna, 1988.
- 'Abd al-Razzāq. *Al-Muṣannaf*. 11 vols. Ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-A'zamī. Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1983. With Ma'mar ibn Rāshid's *Kitāb al-Jāmi*' as the last two volumes.
- Abū Dāwūd. Sunan. 3 vols. Ed. Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1996. See also al-'Azīm Ābādī, 'Awn al-Ma'būd.
- Abū Ghudda. Al-'Ulama' al-'Uzzāb al-Ladhīna Ātharū al-'Ilma 'alā al-Zawāj. 4th ed. Beirut and Aleppo: Maktab al-Maṭbū'āt al-Islāmiyya, 1996.
- Abū Ḥanīfa. Al-ʿĀlim wal-Mutaʿallim. Al-Fiqh al-Absaṭ. Al-Fiqh al-Akbar. Risāla ilā ʿUthmān al-Battī. Al-Waṣiyya. Ed. al-Kawtharī. Repr. Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya, 2001.
- -----. Al-Fiqh al-Akbar. See al-Qārī, Sharḥ al-Fiqh al-Akbar.
- Abū Ḥayyān. [Tafsīr.] Al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ fī Tafsīr al-Qurʾān. With al-Nahr al-Mādd min al-Baḥr. 8 vols. Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Saʿāda, 1328/1910.
- Abū Nu'aym al-Aṣfahānī. Ḥilyat al-Awliyā' wa-Ṭabaqāt al-Asfiya'. 10 vols. 4th ed. Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1985.
- . Ḥilyat al-Awliyā' wa-Ṭabaqāt al-Aṣfiyā'. 12 vols. Ed. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al- 'Ilmiyya, 1997.
- Abū al-Shaykh [Ibn Ḥayyān al-Aṣbahānī]. Al-ʿAzama. 5 vols. Ed. Riḍāʾ Allāh al-Mubārakfūrī. Riyadh: Dār al-ʿĀṣima, 1988.
- Abū Yaʻlā al-Mawṣilī. *Musnad*. 13 vols. Ed. Ḥusayn Salīm Asad. Damascus: Dār al-Ma'mūn līl-Turāth, 1984.
- Abū Zahra. *Ibn Taymiyya: Ḥayātuhu wa-ʿAṣruhu, Ārāʾuhu wa-Fiqhuh.* Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-ʿArabī, 1991.

- Tārīkh al-Madhāhib al-Islāmiyya. 2 vols. Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al Arabī, 1963. Repr. 1 vol. 1996.
- Aghā, Munīr 'Abduh. Namūdhaj min al-A'māl al-Khayriyya fīl-Maṭba'at al-Munīriyya. Riyadh: Maktabat al-Imām al-Shāfi'ī, 1988.
- Al-Aḥdab, Khaldūn. Zawā'id Tārīkh Baghdād 'alā al-Kutub al-Sitta. 10 vols. Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 1996.
- Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal. *Al-Musnad*. 20 vols. Ed. Aḥmad Shākir and Ḥamza Aḥmad al-Zayn. Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1995.
- . Al-Musnad. 50 vols. Ed. Shuʻayb al-Arna'ūţ. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 2000-2001.
- Al-ʿAjlūnī. Kashf al-Khafā. 2nd ed. 2 vols. Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 1932.
- Al-Ājurrī. *Al-Sharīʿa*. Ed. ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Mahdī. Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1996.
- Al-Alūsī (Maḥmūd). Rūḥ al-Maʿānī fī Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿAzīm wal-Sabʿ al-Mathānī. Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, n.d.
- Al-Alūsī (Nu'mān). Al-Āyāt al-Bayyināt fī 'Adam Samā' al-Amwāt 'inda al-Ḥanafiyyati al-Sādāt. Ed. Nāṣir al-Albānī. Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī.
- Al-Ash'arī, Abū al-Ḥasan. *Al-Ibāna 'an Uṣūl al-Diyāna*. Ed. Fawqiyya H. Maḥmūd. Cairo: Dār al-Anṣār, 1977.
- . Al-Ibāna 'an Uṣūl al-Diyāna. Ed. 'Abbās Ṣabbāgh. Beirut: Dār al-Nafā'is, 1994.
- . Al-Ibāna 'an Uṣūl al-Diyāna. Ed. Bashīr Muḥammad 'Uyūn. Damascus and Beirut: Dār al-Bayān, 1996.
- Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn wa-Ikhtilāf al-Muşallīn. 2 vols. Ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. Beirut and Sidon: al-Maktabat al-'Aşriyya, 1995.
- . Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn wa-Ikhtilāf al-Muşallīn. Ed. Helmut Ritter. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1980³. Reprint of the Istanbul 1929-1930 edition.
- Al-ʿAynī. ʿ*Umdat al-Qārī fī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. 11 vols. <Istanbul:> Dār al-Ṭibāʿat al-ʿĀmira, 1308/1890.
- ------. 'Umdat al-Qārī fī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī. 25 vols. in 12. Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth, n.d.
- Al-Baghawī. [*Tafsīr*] *Maʿālim al-Tanzīl*. 5 vols. Ed. 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Mahdī. Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 2000.
- ——. Sharḥ al-Sunna. 2nd ed. 16 vols. Eds. Shuʿayb al-Arnaʾūṭ and Zuhayr al-Shāwīsh. Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1983.

- Al-Baghdādī ('Abd al-Qāhir). Al-Farq Bayn al-Firaq. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, n.d.
- -----. Al-Farq Bayn al-Firaq. Beirut: Dār al-Āfāq al-Jadīda, 1977².
- ———. Al-Farq Bayn al-Firaq. Ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. Sidon and Beirut: al-Maktabat al-'Aṣriyya, 2004.
- Al-Ba'lī. Kashf al-Mukhaddarāt. Cairo: al-Maţba'at al-Salafiyya, 195?.
- Al-Bayḍāwī. [*Tafsīr*] *Anwār al-Tanzīl*. 5 vols. Ed. 'Abd al-Qādir 'Arafāt Ḥassūna. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1996.
- Al-Bayhaqī. *Al-Asmā' wal-Şifāt*. Ed. Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī. Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, n.d. Reprint of the 1358/1939 Cairo edition.
- . Al-Asmā' wal-Şifāt. 2 vols. Ed. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāshidī. Riyadh: Maktabat al-Sawādī, 1993.
- . Al-I'tiqād 'alā Madhhabi al-Salaf Ahl al-Sunnati wal-Jamā'a. Beirut: Dār al-Afāq al-Jadīda, 1981; Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 19862.
- Al-Madkhal ilā al-Sunan al-Kubrā. Ed. Muḥammad Diyā' al-Raḥmān al-A'zamī. Al-Kuwait: Dār al-Khulafā' līl-Kitāb al-Islāmī, 1984. 2nd ed. 2 vols. Riyadh: Maktabat Adwā' al-Salaf, 1990.
- Manāqib al-Shāfi'ī. 2 vols. Ed. Aḥmad Saqr. Cairo: Dār al-Turāth, n. d.
 Shu'ab al-Īmān. 8 vols. Ed. Muḥammad Zaghlūl. Beirut: Dār al-
 - Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1990.
 ——. Al-Sunan al-Kubrā. 10 vols. Ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAta.
- Makka: Maktaba Dār al-Baz, 1994. Al-Bazzār. *Al-Musnad*. [*Al-Baḥr al-Zakhkhār*.] 9 vols. Ed. Maḥfūẓ al-Raḥmān
- Al-Bazzar. Al-Musnad. [Al-Baḥr al-Zakhkhar.] 9 vols. Ed. Maḥruz al-kaḥman Zayn Allāh. Beirut and Madīna: Mu'assasat 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān & Maktabat al-'Ulūm wal-Ḥikam, 1989.
- Mukhtaşar al-Musnad. See Ibn Ḥajar, Mukhtaşar Zawa'id Musnad al-Bazzār.
- Al-Buhūtī. Kashshāf al-Qināʻ. 6 vols. Ed. Hilāl Muşaylih.ī Muşṭafā Hilāl. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1982.

- Al-Bukhārī, 'Alā' al-Dīn. Kashf al-Asrār Sharh Uṣūl al-Pazdawī. A commentary on Fakhr al-Islām Abū al-Ḥasan al-Pazdawi's Uṣūl with the latter work in the margins. 4 vols. in 2. Istanbul: Sharika Ṣaḥāfiyya 'Uthmāniyya, 1308/1890.
- Al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl. *Khalq Afʿāl al-ʿIbād*. Ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿUmayra. Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1990. Riyadh: Dār al-Maʿārif al-Saʿūdiyya, 1978.
- . Ṣaḥīḥ. 8 vols. in 3. Ed. Muḥammad al-Zuhrī al-Ghamrāwī. Bulāq: al-Maṭbaʿat al-Kubrā al-Amīriyya, 1314/1896. Repr. Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿat al-Maymūniyya [Muṣṭafā Bābī al-Ḥalabī et al.], 1323/1905.
- ——. Al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr. 8 vols. Ed. al-Sayyid Hāshim al-Nadwī. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.d.
- Al-Dānī. *Al-Muktafā fil-Waqf wal-Ibtidā*'. 2nd ed. Ed. Yūsuf 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mar'ashlī. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1987.
- Al-Dāraquṭnī. *Al-Ṣifāt*. With al-Dāraquṭnī's *al-Nuzūl*. Ed. 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Nāṣīr al-Faqīhī. No place: no name, 1983.
- Sunan. 4 vols. in 2. Together with Muḥammad Shams al-Ḥaqq al-ʿAzīm Ābādī's al-Taʿlīq al-Mughnī. Ed. Al-Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Hāshim Yamānī al-Madanī. Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifa, 1966. Repr. Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 1993.
- Al-Dārimī (Abu 'Abd Allāh). [Al-Musnad al-Jāmi'.] Fath al-Mannān Sharḥ wa-Taḥqīq Kitāb al-Dārimī al-Musammā bil-Musnad al-Jāmi'. 10 vols. Ed. Abū 'Āṣim Nabīl Hāshim al-Ghamrī. Makka and Beirut: al-Maktba al-Makkiyya and Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyya, 1999.
- Al-Dārimī (Abū Saʿid). Naqd al-Imām Abī Saʿīd ʿUthmān ibn Saʿīd ʿalā al-Marrīsī al-Jahmī al-ʿAnīd fīmā Iftarā ʿalā Allāh ʿazza wa-jalla min al-Tawhīd. 2 vols. Ed. Rashīd ibn Ḥasan al-Almaʿī. Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd, 1998.
- Naqd 'Uthmān ibn Sa'īd 'alā al-Marrīsī al-Jahmī al-'Anīd fīmā Iftarā 'alā Allāh fīl-Tawhīd. Ed. Manṣūr ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Samārī. Riyadh: Maktabat Adwā' al-Salaf, 1999.
- ——. *Al-Radd 'alā al-Jahmiyya*. Facsimile edition. Ed. Gösta Vitestam. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1960.
- . Al-Radd 'alā al-Jahmiyya. Ed. Badr ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Badr. Kuwait: Dār Ibn al-Athīr, 1995.

- . Al-Radd 'alā al-Jahmiyya. Ed. Zuhayr Shāwīsh and Nāṣir al-Albānī.

 Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī 1982.
- Radd al-Imām al-Dārimī 'Uthmān ibn Sa'īd 'alā Bishr al-Marrīsī al-'Anīd. Ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqqī. Cairo: Maṭba'at Anṣār al-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya, 1939.
- Al-Dhahabī. Bayān Zaghl al-'Ilm wal-Ṭalab. Followed by al-Naṣīḥat al-Dhahabiyya li-Ibni Taymiyya. Ed. Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī. Damascus: al-Qudsī, 1347/1929.
- ——. Al-'Ibar fī Khabar man 'Abar. 4 vols. Ed. Muḥammad ibn Basyūnī Zaghlūl. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, n.d. [Uncredited reprint of an earlier edition.]
- . Maʻrifat al-Qurrā' al-Kibār ʻalā al-Ṭabaqāt wal-Aʻṣār. 2 vols. Ed. Bashshār ʻAwwād Maʻrūf, Shuʻayb al-Arna'ūţ, and Ṣāliḥ Mahdī ʻAbbās. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1984.
- ——. Mīzān al-I'tidāl. 4 vols. Ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bajawī. Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 1963.
- . Mīzān al-I'tidāl. 8 vols. Eds. 'Alī Muḥammad Mu'awwaḍ and 'Ādil Aḥmad 'Abd al-Mawjūd. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1995.
- ———. Al-Mughnī fīl-Du'afā'. 2 vols. Ed. Nūr al-Dīn 'Itr. Qatar: Idara Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1987.
- -----. Al-Naṣīḥat al-Dhahabiyya. See Bayān Zaghl al-'Ilm.
- ———. Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'. 19 vols. Ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-'Amrāwī. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1996.
- ———. Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'. 23 vols. Ed. Shu'ayb al-Arna'ūṭ and Muḥammad Na'īm al-'Araqṣūsī. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1992-1993.
- . Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz. 4 vols. in 2. Ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Yaḥyā al-Muʿallimī. A fifth volume, titled Dhayl Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz, consists in al-Ḥusaynī's Dhayl Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz, Muḥammad ibn Fahd al-Makkī's Lahz al-Alḥāz bi-Dhayl Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz, and al-Suyūṭī's Dhayl Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz. Ed. Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī. Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-ʿArabī and Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, n.d. Reprint of the 1968 Hyderabad edition.
- ——. *Talkhīṣ al-Mawḍūʿāt li-Ibn al-Jawzī*. Ed. Abū Tamīm Yāsir ibn Ibrāhīm. Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd, 1998.
- ——. Tartīb al-Mawḍūʿāt li-Ibn al-Jawzī. Ed. Kamāl ibn Basyūnī Zaghlūl. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1994.

- ———. Al-'Uluw līl-'Alī al-Ghaffār. Ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad 'Uthmān. Al-Madīna al-Munawwara: al-Maktabat al-Salafiyya, 1968.
- . Al-'Uluw līl-'Alī al-Ghaffār. Ed. Ḥasan 'Alī al-Saqqāf. Amman: Dār al-Imām al-Nawawī, 1998.
- Al-'Uluw līl-'Alī al-Ghaffār, Abridged as Mukhtaṣar al-'Uluw lil-'Alī al-Ghaffār. Ed. Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Albānī. 2nd ed. Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1991.
- Al-Dūlābī. *Al-Kunā wal-Asmā*'. 2 vols. in 1. Hyderābād: Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyya, 1322/1904. Repr. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1983.

Encyclopedia of Islamic Doctrine. See Kabbani, Hisham.

Al-Fayrūzābādī. Al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ. 2nd ed. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1987.

Ghāwjī al-Albānī, Wahbī Sulaymān. See Appendix II in this book.

- Al-Ghazzālī. *Iljām al-'Awāmm 'an 'Ilm al-Kalām*. In *al-Rasā'il*. 7 vols. in 1. Eds. Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn and others. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1997.
- ——. Al-Mustaṣfā fī 'Ilm al-Uṣūl. Ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Salām 'Abd al-Shāfī. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1993.
- Al-Ghumārī, 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ṣiddīq. *Bida*' *al-Tafāsīr*. 2nd ed. Cairo: Maktabat al-Qāhira, 1994.
- Al-Ghumārī, 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ṣiddīq. Al-Tahānī fil-Ta' aqqub' alā Mawdū' āt al-Ṣaghānī. Cairo: Dār al-Anṣār, 1982.
- Al-Ghumārī, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ṣiddīq. *Al-Mudāwī li-ʿIlal al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr wa-Sharḥay al-Munāwī*. 6 vols. Ed. Muṣṭafā Ṣabrī. Cairo al-Maktaba al-Makkiyya, 1996.
- Haddad, Gibrīl Fouad. See the last page of this volume.
- Al-Ḥajjāwī or Ḥujāwī. Al-Iqnā' fī Fiqh al-Imām Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal. 4 vols. Ed. 'Abd al-Laṭīf Muḥammad Mūsā al-Sabalī. Cairo: al-Maktabat al-Tijāriyyat al-Kubrā, 1351/1932.
- . Zād al-Mustaqni'. Ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Hindī. Makka: Maktabat al-Nahḍat al-Ḥadītha, n.d
- Ḥajjī Khalīfa. Kashf al-Zunūn 'an Asāmī al-Kutub wal-Funūn. 2 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1992.
- Al-Ḥākim. *Al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*. With al-Dhahabī's *Talkhīṣ al-Mustadrak*. 5 vols. Indices by Yūsuf 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mar'ashlī. Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 1986. Reprint of the 1334/1916 Hyderabad edition.
- ——. Al-Mustadrak 'ala al-Şaḥiḥayn. With al-Dhahabi's Talkhiş al-Mustadrak. 4 vols. Annotations by Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā'. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1990.

- Al-Ḥakīm al-Tīrmidhī. *Nawādir al-Uṣūl*. Beirut: Dār Sadir, n.d. Repr. of Istanbul ed.
- Al-Ḥallāj. Kitāb al-Ṭawāsīn. Ed. Louis Massignon. Baghdad: al-Muthannā, 1970.
- Al-Ḥārith ibn Abī Usāma. *Musnad.* [*Bughyat al-Bāḥith 'an Zawā'id Musnad al-Hārith*]. 2 vols. Ed. Ḥusayn Aḥmad Ṣāliḥ al-Bakirī. Madīna: Markaz Khidmat al-Sunna wal-Sīra al-Nabawiyya, 1992.
- Al-Haythamī, Nūr al-Dīn. *Majma* 'al-Zawā'id wa-Manba' al-Fawā'id. 10 vols. in 5. Cairo: Maktabat al-Qudsī, 1932-1934. Repr. Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1967, 1982, and 1987.
- Al-Ḥiṣnī, Taqī al-Dīn. Daf u Shubahi man Shabbaha wa Tamarrad wa-Nasaba Dhālika ilā Madhhab al-Imām Ahmad. Cairo: al-Ḥalabī, 1350/1931.
- Ibn 'Abd al-Barr. Al-Istī 'ab fī Ma'rifat al-Aṣḥāb. 8 vols. in 4. Ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bajawī. Beirut: Dār al-Jil, 1992.
- ——. Al-Tamhīd limā fīl-Muwaṭṭa' min al-Maʿānī wal-Asānīd. 22 vols. Eds. Muṣṭafā ibn Aḥmad al-ʿAlawī and Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Kabīr al-Bakrī. Morocco: Wizārat ʿUmūm al-Awqāf wal-Shu'ūn al-Islāmiyya, 1967-1968.
- Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī, Muḥammad. Al-' Uqūd al-Durriyya min Manāqib Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad ibn Taymiyya. Ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqqī. Beirut: Dār al-Kātib al-' Arabī. 197?.
- Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī, Yūsuf. Sayr al-Ḥāthth ilā 'Ilm al-Ṭalāq al-Thalāth. Ed. Muḥammad Nāṣir al-'Ajmī. Beirut: Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyya, 1997.
- Ibn 'Abd al-Salām. *Fatāwā*. Ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd al-Fattāḥ. Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 1986.
- . Al-Ishāra ilā al-Ijāz fī Ba'ḍ Anwā' al-Majāz. Ed. 'Uthmān Ḥilmī. Cairo: Al-Maṭba'at al-'Āmira, 1313/1895.
- ——. Al-Mulha fī I' tiqād Ahl al-Ḥaqq. In Rasā'il al-Tawḥīd. Ed. Iyād Khālid al-Ṭabbā'. Beirut and Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1995. The Belief of the People of Truth. Trans. Gibril Fouād Haddād. Mountain View: Al-Sunna Foundation of America, 1997.
- Ibn Abī 'Āṣim. *Al-Āḥād wal-Mathānī fī Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥāba*. 6 vols. Ed. Bāsim Faysal al-Jawābira. Riyadh: Dār al-Rāya, 1991.
- Al-Sunna. Ed. Muḥammad Nāşir al-Albānī. Beirut and Damascus: Al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1993.
- Ibn Abī al-'Izz. Sharḥ al-'Aqīda al-Taḥāwiyya. Ed. Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Albānī et al. Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 19714, 19889.

- Ibn Abī Shayba, Abū Bakr. *Al-Muṣannaf*. 7 vols. Ed. Kamāl al-Ḥūt. Ryadh: Maktabat al-Rushd, 1989.
- Ibn Abī Shayba, Abū Jaʿfar. *Al-ʿArsh*. Ed. Muḥammad al-Ḥamūd. Kuwait: Maktabat al-Muʿallā, 1986.
- Ibn Abī al-Wafā'. Al-Jawāhir al-Muḍiyya fī Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafiyya. Karachi: Mir Muḥammad Kutub Khana, n.d.
- Ibn Abī Ya'lā. *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila*. 2 vols. Ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqqī. Cairo: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya, n.d.
- Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī. Al-Jāmi' fīl-Sunan wal-Adab wal-Maghazi wal-Tārīkh. Ed. M. Abū al-Ajfān and 'Uthmān Baṭṭīkh. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla; Tunis: al-Maktabat al- 'Atīqa, 1982.
- Ibn 'Adī. Al-Kāmil fī Du'afā' al-Rijāl. 7 vols. Ed. Yaḥyā Mukhtār Ghazawī. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1988.
- Ibn al-'Arabī, Abū Bakr. Aḥkām al-Qur'ān. 4 vols. Cairo: 'Īsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1967-1968.
- Āriḍat al-Aḥwadhī Sharḥ Sunan al-Tirmidhī. 13 vols. Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, n.d.
- ———. [Al-'Awāṣim min al-Qawāṣim.] Ārā' Ibn al-'Arabī al-Kalāmiyya. 2 vols. By 'Ammār al-Ṭālibī. Algiers: al-Sharikat al-Waṭaniyya, 1974.
- ———. Al- 'Awāṣim min al-Qawāṣim fī Taḥqīq Mawāqif al-Ṣaḥāba ba 'da Wafāt al-Nabī . Ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb. Cairo: al-Maṭba 'at al-Salafiyya, 1952.
- Al- Awāşim min al-Qawāşim fī Taḥqīq Mawāqif al-Ṣaḥāba ba'da Wafāt al-Nabī . Ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb. Cairo: al-Maṭba'at al-Salafiyya, 1952.
- Ibn 'Arabī, Muḥyī al-Dīn. 'Aqīda. Beginning of al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya. 14 vols. Eds. 'Uthmān Yaḥyā and Ibrāhīm Madkūr. Cairo: al-Hay'at al-Miṣriyya al-'Āmma līl-Kitāb, 1972-1992.
- Ibn 'Arrāq. *Tanzīh al-Sharī'at al-Marfū'a*. 2 vols. 2nd ed. Ed. 'Abd Allāh al-Ghumārī. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1981.
- Ibn 'Asākir. Tabyīn Kadhib al-Muftarī fīmā Nasaba ilā al-Imām Abī al-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī. Ed. Aḥmad Ḥijāzī al-Saqqā. Beirut: Dār al-Jil, 1995.
- ——. Ibid. Ed. Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī. Damascus: al-Qudsī, 1347/1929. Repr. Dār al-Fikr, 1979.
- . Tārīkh Dimashq. 70 vols. Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 2000.
- Ibn 'Ațā' Allāh. Al-Ḥikam. 2nd ed. Ed. and trans. Paul Nwiya. In *Ibn* 'Aṭā' Allāh et la naissance de la confrérie Shādhilite. Beirut: Dār al-Machreg, 1990.

- Ibn al-Athīr. *Jāmi* ' *al-Uṣūl fī Ahādīth al-Rasūl*. 2nd ed. 12 vols. Ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqqī. Beirut: Dār Iḥyā ' al-Turāth al- 'Arabī, 1980.
- ——. Jāmiʿ al-Uṣūl fī Ahādīth al-Rasūl. 11 vols. Ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Arnaʾŭṭ. Damascus: Ḥalwānī, 1973.
- Al-Nihāya fī Gharīb al-Athar. 5 vols. Eds. Ṭāhir Aḥmad al-Zāwī and Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭabbākhī. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1979.
- Ibn al-Bāqillānī. *Al-Inṣāf fī-Mā Yajibu I' tiqāduhu wa-Lā Yajūzu al-Jahlu bih*. 2nd ed. Ed. Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī. Cairo: Mu'assasat al-Khānjī, 1963.
- ——. Tamhīd al-Awā'il wa-Talkhīş al-Dalā'il. Ed. 'Imād al-Dīn Aḥmad Ḥaydar. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiyya, 1987.
- Ibn Baṭṭa. Al-Ibāna 'an Sharī'at al-Firaq al-Nājiya wa-Mujānabat al-Firaq al-Madhmūma. 4 vols. in 9. Eds. 'Uthmān al-Athyūbī et al. Riyadh: Dār al-Rāya lil-Nashr wal-Tawzī', 1988-1994.
- Ibn Dawyān. *Manār al-Sabīl*. 2 vols. 2nd ed. Ed. 'Āṣim Qal'ajī. Riyadh: Maktabat al-Ma'ārif, 1985.
- Ibn al-Dayba'. Tamyīz al-Ṭayyib min al-Khabīth fīmā Yadūru 'alā Alsinat al-Nās min al-Ḥadīth. Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 197?.
- Ibn al-Dubaythī. *Dhayl Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām Baghdād*. Ed. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf. Baghdād: Wizarat al-I'lām, al-Jumhuriyyat al-'Irāqiyya, 1974.
- Ibn Farḥūn. Al-Dībāj al-Mudhahhab fī Ma'rifat 'Ulamā' al-Madhhab. Ed. Ma'mūn ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Jannān. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1996.
- Ibn Fūrak. Mushkal al-Ḥadīth wa-Bayānuh. Ed. Mūsā Muḥammad 'Alī. Beirut: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1985. Ed. Daniel Gimaret. Damascus: Institut Français d'Études Arabes à Damas, 2003.
- Ibn Ḥajar. *Al-Durar al-Kāmina fī Aʿyān al-Miʾati al-Thāmina*. 4 vols. Hyderabad: Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmāniyya, 1384/1964.
- . Inbā' al-Ghumr bi-A'mār al-'Umr. 4 vols. Ed. Ḥasan Ḥabash. Cairo: Lajnat Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-Islāmī, Wīzārat al-Awqāf, 1994.
- ——. Al-Iṣāba fī Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥāba. 8 vols in 4. Ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī. Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1992.
- ———. *Lisān al-Mīzān*. 7 vols. Hyderabad: Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-Nizāmiyya, 1329/1911. Repr. Beirut: Mu'assassat al-A'lamī, 1986.

- . Mukhtaşar Zawā'id Musnad al-Bazzār. 2 vols. Ed. Şabrī 'Abd al-Khāliq Abū Dharr. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiyya, 1993.
- . Taghlīq al-Taʻlīq ʻalā Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī. 2nd ed. 5 vols. Ed. Saʻīd ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Mūsā al-Qizqī. Beirut and Amman: al-Maktab al-Islāmī and Dār ʻAmmār, 1989.
- . *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*. 14 vols. Hyderabad: Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-Nizāmiyya, 1327/1909. Repr. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1984.
- ———. Taḥrīr Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb. 4 vols. By Bashshar 'Awwād Ma'rūf and Shu'ayb al-Arna'ūṭ. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1997.
- Talkhīş al-Ḥabīr. 4 vols. Ed. Sayyid 'Abd Allāh Hashim al-Yamānī. Madīna, 1964. Repr. 4 vols. in 2, Cairo: Maktabat al-Kulliya al-Azhariyya, 1979.
- Ibn Ḥazm. Al-Fiṣal fīl-Milal wal-Niḥal. 5 vols. Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, repr. of the 1271 ed.
- . *Marātib al-Ijmā* '. With Ibn Taymiyya's *Naqd Marātib al-Ijmā* '. 3rd ed. Beirut: Dār al-Āfāq al-Jadīda, 1982.
- Ibn Hibbān. Şaḥīḥ Ibn Ḥibbān bi-Tartīb Ibn Balbān. 18 vols. Ed. Shuʻayb al-Arna'ūṭ. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1993.
- . Al-Thiqāt. Also known as Tārīkh al-Thiqāt. 9 vols. Ed. Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn Aḥmad. N.p.: Dār al-Fikr, 1975.
- Ibn Hubayra. Al-Ifṣāḥ 'an Ma'ānī al-Ṣiḥāh wa-Huwa Sharḥun lil-Jam' bayna al-Ṣaḥiḥayn li-Abī 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥumaydī al-Andalusī al-Mutawaffā Sanat 488. 2nd ed. 4 vols. Ed. Fu'ād 'Abd al-Mun'im Aḥmad. Riyadh: Dār al-Waṭan, 1996.
- . Al-Ifṣāḥ 'an Ma'ānī al-Ṣiḥāh fīl-Fiqh 'alā al-Madhāhib al-Arba'a. 2 vols. With al-Suyūṭī's Jazīl al-Mawāhib fī Ikhtilāf al-Madhāhib. Beirut: Da r al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1996.
- . Al-Ijmāʻʻinda A'immat Ahl al-Sunnati al-Arbaʻa. Ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Shattā Abū Saʻd. Riyadh: Maktabat al-ʿUbaykān, 2003.
- Ibn al-Humām. Al-Musāyara. With Ibn Abī Sharīf's al-Musāmara and Zayn al-Dīn Qāsim's Ḥāshiyat al-Musāyara. Istanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1979.
- Ibn al-'Imād. Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār Man Dhahab. 8 vols. Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, n.d.
- Ibn Jahbal. Al-Radd 'alā man Qāla bil-Jiha. In Ibn al-Subkī, Ṭabagāt.

- Ibn Jamā'a. *Īḍāḥ al-Dalīl fī Qaṭ'i Ḥujaji Ahl al-Ta'ṭīl*. Ed. Wahbī Sulaymān al-Ghāwijī. Madīna: Dār al-Salām, 1990.
- Ibn al-Jawzī. *Dafʿ Shubah al-Tashbīh bi-Akuff al-Tanzīh*. Ed. Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī. Reprint Cairo: al-Maktabat al-Azhariyya līl-Turāth, 1998.
- ———. Daf' Shubah al-Tashbīh bi-Akuff al-Tanzīh. Ed. Ḥasan 'Alī al-Saqqāf. Amman: Dār al-Imām Nawawī, 1991.
- ———. Al-ʿIlal al-Mutanāhiya fīl-Aḥādīth al-Wāhiya. 2 vols. Ed. Irshād al-Haqq al-Atharī. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1983.
- ———. Al-Madhhab al-Aḥmad fī Madhhab al-Imām Aḥmad. Bombay: Matba'at Qa f, 1959.
- Al-Mawdū'āt. 3 vols. Ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad 'Uthmān. Madīna: al-Maktabat al-Salafiyya, 1967. See also al-Dhahabi's Tartīb al-Mawdū'āt.
- ——. Zād al-Masīr fī 'Ilm al-Tafsīr. 3rd ed. 10 vols. Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1984.
- Ibn al-Juwaynī. *Al-ʿAqīda al-Niẓāmiyya*. Ed. Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī. Cairo: Matbaʿat al-Anwār, 1367/1948.
- ———. Al-Irshād ilā Qawāṭiʿ al-Adilla fī Uṣūl al-Iʿtiqād. Ed. Asʿad Tamīm. Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiyya, 1996.
- Luma' al-Adilla fi Qawā'id Ahl al-Sunna. With his Shifā' al-Ghalīl fīl-Tabdīl. In Textes Apologétiques de Ğuwainī. Ed. and trans. Michel Allard. Beirut: Dār al-Machreq, 1968.
- Ibn Kathīr. *Al-Bidāya wal-Nihāya*. 15 vols. Ed. Editing Board of al-Turāth. Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 1993.
- -----. Ibid. 14 vols. Beirut: Maktabat al-Ma'ārif, n.d.
- ------. Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-ʿAzīm. 4 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1981.
- Ibn Khaldūn. *Al-Muqaddima fīl-Tārīkh*. Ed. Aḥmad al-Zu'bī. Beirut: Dār al-Argam, 2002
- Ibn Khallikan, *Wafayāt al-Aʻyān wa-Anbā' al-Zamān.* 8 vols. Ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās. Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1968.
- Ibn Khuzayma. *Al-Şaḥīḥ*. 4 vols. Ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Aʿzamī. Beirut: Al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1970.
- ——. Al-Tawḥīd. 5th ed. 2 vols. Ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibrāhīm al-Shahwān. Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd, 1994.
- . Al-Tawhīd. Ed. Muḥammad Khalīl Harrās. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1992. Reprint of the Cairo 1388/1968-1969 edition.

- Ibn Mājah. Sunan. 2 vols. Ed. Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.d. See also al-Suyūṭī et al., Sharḥ Sunan Ibn Mājah.
- Ibn Mandah. Al-Radd 'alā al-Jahmiyya. Ed. 'Alī al-Faqīhī. Madīna: s.n., 1981.
- Ibn Manzūr. Lisān al- 'Arab. 9 vols. Cairo: 2003.
- Ibn Marzūq, Abū Ḥāmid. Nom-de-plume for Ibn al-Tubbānī (q.v.).
- Ibn al-Mubārak. Al-Zuhd. Ed. Habib al-Raḥmān al-Aʿzami. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, n.d.
- Ibn Mufliḥ, Ibrāhīm. Al-Mubdi' fī Sharḥ al-Muqni'. 10 vols. Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1980.
- Ibn Mufliḥ, Muḥammad (Shams al-Dīn). *Al-Furū*ʻ. With al-Mardāwi's *Taṣḥīḥ al-Furū*ʻ. 6 vols. Ed. Abū al-Zahrā' Ḥāzim al-Qāḍī. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʻIlmiyya, 1998.
- Ibn al-Mundhir. *Al-Ijmā*°. Ed. Muḥammad Ḥusām Bayḍūn. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiyya, 1993.
- Ibn al-Najjār. Muntahā al-Irādāt fī Jam' al-Muqni' ma' a al-Tanqīḥ wa-Ziyādāt. With Ibn Qā'id al-Najdī's Ḥāshiyat al-Muntahā. 5 vols. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1999.
- Ibn Qaṭṭān al-Fāsī. Al-Iqnā' fī Masā'il al-Ijmā'. 4 vols. Ed. Farūq Ḥamāda. Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 2003.
- Ibn al-Qaysarānī. *Dhakhīrat al-Ḥuffāz*. Also known as *Maʿrifat al-Tadhkira* and *Tadhkirat al-Mawḍūʿāt*. Ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Ḥabṭī. Cairo: al-Maktabat al-Salafiyya, 1981.
- Ibn al-Qayyim. Hādī al-Arwāḥ ilā Bilād al-Afrāḥ. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1983.
- . I'lām al-Muwaqqi'īn 'an Rabb al-'Ālamīn. 3 vols. Eds. Yūsuf Aḥmad al-Bakrī, Shākir Tawfīq al-'Arūrī. Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1997.
- ------. I'lām al-Muwaqqi'īn 'an Rabb al-'Alamīn. 4 vols. Ed. Ṭaha 'Abd al-Ra'ūf Sa'd. Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1973.
- -----. Madārij al-Sālikīn. 3 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, n.d.
- . Miftāḥ Dār al-Sa'āda wa-Manshūr Wilāyat al-'Ilm wal-Idāra. Ed. Fikrī Abū al-Naṣr. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya.
- Al-Rūh. 3rd ed. Ed. Yūsuf 'Alī Badyawī. Damascus and Beirut: Dār Ibn Kathīr, 1998.
- ----. Al-Rūḥ. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1975.
- ———. Al-Wābil al-Ṣayyib min al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib. Ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Awad . Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1985.

- Zād al-Ma'ād fī Hadī Khayr al-'Ibād. 6 vols. 30th ed. Eds. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Arna'ūţ and Shu'ayb al-Arna'ūţ. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1997.
- Ibn Qudāma, Muwaffaq al-Dīn. *Dhamm al-Ta'wīl*. Ed. Badr ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Badr. Sharjah: Dār al-Fatḥ, 1994.
- . Ithbāt Şifat al-'Uluw. Ed. Badr 'Abd Allāh al-Badr. Kuwait: Dār al-Salafiyya, 1986.
- ———. Al-Kāfī fī Fiqh Ibn Hanbal. 4 vols. 5th ed. Ed. Zuhayr al-Shāwīsh. Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1988.
- . Lam' at al-I' tiqād. Ed. 'Abd al-Qādir Badrān and Bashīr Muḥammad 'Uyūn. Damascus: Dār al-Bayān, 1992.
- . Al-Mughnī fī Fiqh al-Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal al-Shaybānī. 10 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1985; Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1994.
- Al-Muqni fī Fiqh al-Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal al-Shaybānī. Eds. Maḥmūd al-Arna ut, Yasīn Maḥmūd al-Khaṭīb, and 'Abd al-Qa dir al-Arna ut. Jeddah: Maktabat al-Sawādī, 2000.
- . Taḥrīm al-Nazar fī Kutub al-Kalām. Riyadh: Dār ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 1990.
- Ibn Qudāma, Shams al-Dīn. Al-Sharḥ al-Kabīr 'alā Matn al-Muqni'. With Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāma's Mughnī. 12 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabi', 1972.
- Ibn Qutayba. Al-Ma' ārif. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1987.
- ———. Ta'wīl Mukhtalif al-Ḥadīth. Ed. Muḥammad Zuhrī al-Najjār. Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1972.
- . *Ta'wīl Mukhtalif al-Ḥadīth*. Ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥīm. Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1995.
- Ibn Rajab. *Dhayl Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila*. 2 vols. Ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqqī. Cairo: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyya, n.d.
- . Al-Radd 'alā man Ittaba'a Ghayr al-Madhāhib al-Arba'a. Ed. al-Walīd 'Abd al-Rahmān Āl Faryān. Dār 'Ālam al-Fawā'id.
- Ibn Rushd al-Ḥafīd. Faṣl al-Maqāl wa-Taqrīr Mā Bayn al-Sharīʿati wal-Ḥikmati min al-Ittiṣāl. Ed. ʿAbd al-Majīd Hammū. Damascus: Dār Maʿadd, 1996.
- Ibn al-Subkī. *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-Kubrā*. 10 vols. Ed. Maḥmūd al-Ṭannāḥī and ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Ḥilw. 2nd ed. Jiza: Dār Hijr, 1992.
- Ibn Taymiyya, Majd al-Dīn. Al-Muḥarrar fīl-Fiqh. 2 vols. Cairo: Maktabat al-Sunnat al-Muḥammadiyya, 1369/1950. Repr. Riyadh: Maktabat al-Maʿārif, 1984.

- Ibn Taymiyya, Taqī al-Dīn. *Bayān Talbīs al-Jahmiyya fī Ta'sīs Bida' ihim al-Kalāmiyya*. Originally entitled *al-Ta'sīs Radd Asās al-Taqdīs*. 2 vols. Ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥmān Qāsim. Makka: s.n., 1972.
- Dar' Taʿāruḍ al-ʿAql wal-Naql, originally entitled Muwāfaqat Ṣaḥīḥ al-Manqūl li-Ṣarīḥ al-Maʿqūl. 2 vols. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Sunnat al-Muḥammadiyya, 1951.
- . Al-Fatwā al-Ḥamawiyya al-Kubrā. Ed. Ḥamd ibn ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Tuwayjirī. Riyadh: Dār al-Ṣumayʿi, 1998 = al-Fatwā al-Ḥamawiyya in Majmūʿ Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya, 5:5-120.
- Al-Furqān bayna Awliyā' Allāh wa-Awliyā' al-Shayṭān. Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1970.
- . Al-Istiqāma. 2 vols. Ed. Muḥammad Rashād Sālim. Madīna: Jāmiʿat Muḥammad ibn Saʿūd, 1983.
- Majmū' Fatāwā Aḥmad Ibn Taymiyya. 36 vols. Cairo, 1984. 39 vols. Riyadh, 1978.
- Minhāj al-Sunnat al-Nabawiyya. With Bayān Muwāfaqat Şarīḥ al-Ma'qūl li-Şaḥīḥ al-Manqūl. 4 vols. in 2. Bulāq: al-Maṭba'at al-Amīriyya, 1322/1904.
- . *Minhāj al-Sunnat al-Nabawiyya*. 10 vols. Ed. Muḥammad Rashād Sālim. Cairo: Mu'assasat Qurṭuba, 1986.
- Ibn al-Tubbānī. Barā'at al-Ash'ariyyīn min 'Aqā'id al-Mukhālifīn. 2 vols. Damascus: Maṭba'at al-'Ilm, 1967.
- ———. Al-Taʻaqqub al-Mufid ʻalā Hadyī al-Zurʻī al-Shadīd. Damascus, 1387/1967.
- Al-Ikhmimī. Risāla fīl-Radd 'alā Ibn Taymiyya fī Mas'alati Ḥawāditha lā Awwala Lahā. Ed. with commentary by Sa'īd 'Abd al-Laṭīf Fawda. Ruṣayfa: published by the author, 1998.
- Imam al-Ḥaramayn. See Ibn al-Juwaynī.
- Al-'Irāqī, Zayn al-Dīn. Al-Mughnī 'an Ḥaml al-Asfar. 3 vols. Ed. Abū Muḥammad Ashraf ibn 'Abd al-Maqṣūd. Riyadh: Maktabat Dār Ṭabariyya, 1995.
- ——. *Ṭarḥ al-Tathrīb fī Sharḥ al-Taqrīb*. 8 vols. in 4. Ed. Maḥmūd Ḥasan Rabī'. Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1992. Repr. of the Cairo edition.
- Al-Ismāʿīlī, Abū Bakr. *Iʿtiqād Aʾimmat al-Ḥadīth*. Ed. Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Khamīs. Riyadh: Dār al-ʿĀṣima, 1992.
- Kabbani, Hisham. Encyclopedia of Islamic Doctrine. 7 vols. Ed. G.F. Haddad. Moutain View: Al-Sunna Foundation of America, 1998.

- Islamic Beliefs and Doctrine According to Ahl al-Sunna. Ed. G.F. Haddad. Moutain View: Al-Sunna Foundation of America, 1996.
- Al-Kalābādhī. Al-Ta'arruf bi-Madhhab Ahl al-Taṣawwuf. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1980.
- Al-Karmī. Aqāwīl al-Thiqāt fī Ta'wīl al-Asmā' wal-Ṣifāt wal-Āyāt al-Muḥkamāt wal-Mutashābihāt. Ed. Shuy'ab al-Arna'ūṭ. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1986.
- Al-Kattānī, Muḥammad ibn Jaʿfar. *Nazm al-Mutanāthir fīl-Ḥadīth al-Mutawātir*. Ed. Sharaf Ḥijāzī. Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Salafiyya, n.d. and Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1980.
- Al-Kalwadhānī. *Al-Hidāya fī Furū' al-Fiqh al-Ḥanbalī*. 2 vols. Ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan Muḥammad Ḥasan Ismā'īl. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2002.
- Al-Kawtharī, Muḥammad Zāhid. Al-Ḥāwī fī Sīrat al-Imām Abī Jaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī. Reprint Cairo: al-Maktabat al-Azhariyya līl-Turāth, 1995.
- . *Maqālāt*. Riyadh and Beirut: Dār al-Aḥnāf, 1993. 2nd ed. Cairo: al-Maktabat al-Azhariyya līl-Turāth, 1994.
- . Marginalia on al-Sayf al-Saqīl. See al-Subkī.
- Al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī. *Talkhīṣ al-Mutashābih fīl-Rasm wa-Ḥimāyat mā Ushkila minhu 'an Bawādir al-Taṣḥīfi wal-Wahm*. 2 vols. Ed. Sakīnat al-Shihābī. Damascus: Dār Ṭlās, 1985.
- Al-Kirānawi. See al-Tahānawi.
- Al-Lacknawī. Al-Ajwibat al-Fāḍila lil-As'ilat al-'Ashrat al-Kāmila. Ed. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda. Followed by al-Ta' līqāt al-Ḥāfila 'alā al-Ajwibat al-'Ashra by Abū Ghudda. 3rd ed. Aleppo: Maktab al-Maṭbū'āt al-Islāmiyya, 1994.
- . Al-Fawā'id al-Bahiyya fī Tarājim al-Ḥanafiyya. With al-Ta līqāt al-Saniyya 'alā al-Fawā'id al-Bahiyya and Ṭarb al-Amāthil bi-Tarājim al-Afāḍil. Ed. Ahmad al-Zu'bī. Beirut: Dār al-Argam, 1998.
- . Al-Rafʻ wal-Takmīl fīl-Jarḥ wal-Taʻdīl. Ed. ʻAbd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda. 3rd ed. Beirut: Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyya, 1987.
- . *Zafar al-Amānī*. Ed. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda. Aleppo and Beirut: Maktab al-Matbū 'āt al-Islāmiyya, 3rd ed. 1995.
- Al-Lālikā'i. *Sharḥ Uṣūl I' tiqād Ahl al-Sunna*. 4 vols. Ed. Aḥmad Sa'd Ḥamdān. Riyadh: Dār Ṭayba, 1982.

- Al-Maḥāmilī. Al-Amālī. Ed. Ibrāhīm al-Qaysī. Amman and al-Dammām: al-Maktabat al-Islāmiyya and Dār Ibn al-Qayyim, 1992.
- Al-Mālaqī. Raṣf al-Mabānī fī Sharḥ Ḥurūf al-Ma ʿānī. Ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Kharrāṭ. Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 1985.
- Māliḥ, Riyāḍ. Fahras Makhṭūṭāt al-Ṣāhiriyya fīl-Taṣawwuf. 3 vols. Damascus: Majmaʿ al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya bi-Dimashq, 1978.
- Mālik ibn Anas. *Al-Muwaṭṭa*'. 2 vols. Ed. Muḥammad Fouad 'Abd al-Bāqī. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, n.d.
- Al-Mālikī, Muḥammad ibn 'Alawī. *Wa-Huwa bil-Ufuqi al-A'lā*. Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Fārūq, 1999.
- Mamdūḥ, Maḥmūd Saʻīd. *Rafʻ al-Mināra li-Takhrīj Aḥādīth al-Tawassul wal-Ziyāra*. 3rd ed. Cairo: Dār al-Imām al-Tirmidhī, 1997.
- Al-Maqdisī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Bahā' al-Dīn. Al-'Udda Sharḥ al-'Umda. Ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb. Cairo: al-Maṭba'at al-Salafiyya wa-Maktabatuhā, 1962 or 3.
- ———. Al-'Udda Sharḥ al-'Umda. Riyadh: Maktabat al-Riyāḍ al-Ḥadītha, 195?.
- Al-Maqdisī, Diyā' al-Dīn. *Al-Aḥādīth al-Mukhtāra*. 10 vols. Ed. 'Abd al-Mālik ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Duhaysh. Makka: Maktabat al-Nahḍat al-Ḥadītha, 1990.
- ———. *Faḍāʾil al-Aʿmāl*. Ed. ʿĀmir Aḥmad Ḥaydar. 3rd. ed. Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiyya, 1987.
- Al-Maqqarī. Nafḥ al-Ṭīb min Ghuṣn al-Andalus al-Raṭīb. 7 vols. Ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās. Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1968.
- Al-Mardāwī. Al-Inṣāf fī Maʿrifat al-Rājiḥ min al-Khilāf ʿalā Madhhab al-Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal. 10 vols. Ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqqī. Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, n.d.
- Mar'ī ibn Yūsuf. *Dalīl al-Ṭālib* [*li-Nayl al-Maṭālib*]. Ed. Muḥammad ibn Māni'. Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1961. 2nd ed. 1969.
- . Ghāyat al-Muntahā fīl-Jam'i bayna al-Iqnā' wal-Muntahā. 3 vols. Riyadh: al-Mu'assasat al-Sa'īdiyya, 1981.
- Maʿrūf, Bashshār ʿAwwād. Al-Dhahabī wa-Manhajuhu fī Kitābihi Tārīkh al-Islām. Cairo: ʿĪsā al-Bābī al-Halabī, 1976.
- Al-Marwazi, Muhammad ibn Naṣr. *Al-Sunna*. Ed. Abu Muhammad Salim ibn Aḥmad al-Salafī. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiyya, 1988.
- Al-Māturīdī. Al-Tawḥīd. Ed. Fatḥ Allāh Khalīl. Alexandria: Dār al-Jāmiʿat al-Miṣriyya, n.d.

- Al-Mubarakfūrī. *Tuḥfat al-Aḥwadhī bi-Sharḥ Jāmiʿ al-Tīrmidhī*. 10 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1990. Includes al-Tīrmidhī's *Sunan*.
- Al-Munāwī. Fayḍ al-Qadīr Sharḥ al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr. 6 vols. Cairo: al-Maktabat al-Tijāriyya al-Kubrā, 1356/1937. Repr. Beirut: Dār al Maʿrifa, 1972.
- Al-Mundhirī. *Al-Targhīb wal-Tarhīb*. 4 vols. Ed. Ibrāhīm Shams al-Dīn. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1997.
- Al-Murādī. Al-Janā al-Dānī fī Ḥurūf al-Maʿānī. Ed. Fakhr al-Dīn Qabāwa and Muḥammad Nadīm Fāḍil. Beirut: Dār al-Afāq al-Jadīda, 1983².
- Muslim. Ṣaḥīḥ. 5 vols. Ed. M. Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī. Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1954. Also see al-Nawawī, Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim.
- Al-Nabhānī, Yūsuf. Shawāhid al-Ḥaqq fīl-Istighātha bi-Sayyid al-Khalq ﷺ. N.p.: s.n., 1323/1905.
- Al-Nasãi. 'Amal al-Yawm wal-Layla. 2nd ed. Ed. Fārūq Ḥammāda. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1986.
- -----. Sunan. See al-Suyūṭī, Sharḥ Sunan al-Nasā'ī.
- ———. Al-Sunan al-Kubrā. 6 vols. Eds. 'Abd al-Ghaffār Sulaymān al-Bandari and Sayyid Kisrawi Ḥasan. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1991.
- Al-Nawawī. Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim. 18 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, n.d. Includes Muslim's Ṣaḥīḥ.
- . Sharh Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim. 18 vols. Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1972.
- Al-Nuʿaymī. Al-Dāris fi Tārīkh al-Madāris. 2 vols. Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqāfat al-Dīniyya, 1988.
- ——. Al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris. 2 vols. Ed. Ibrāhīm Shams al-Dīn. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1990.
- Al-Pazdawi. See al-Bukhāri, 'Alā' al-Din.
- Al-Qārī. Al-Asrār al-Marfūʿa fīl-Akhbār al-Mawḍūʿa. (Al-Mawḍūʿāt al-Kubrā). 2nd ed. Ed. Muḥammad ibn Luṭfī al-Ṣabbāgh. Beirut and Damascus: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1986.
- . Mirqāt al-Mafātīḥ Sharḥ Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ. 5 vols. Ed. Muḥammad Zuhrī al-Ghamrāwī. Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿat al-Maymuniyya, 1309/1892. Reprint Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, n.d.
- Mirqāt al-Mafātīḥ Sharḥ Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ. With Ibn Ḥajar's Ajwiba 'alā Risālat al-Qazwīnī Ḥawla Ba'ḍ Aḥādīth al-Maṣābīḥ. 11 vols. Ed. Ṣidqī Muḥammad Jamīl al-'Aṭṭār. Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1994.
- -----. Risāla fī Waḥdat al-Wujūd. Istanbul: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1294/1877.

- . Sharh 'Ayn al-'Ilm wa-Zayn al-Hilm. 2 vols. in 1. Cairo: al-Maṭba'at al-'Āmira, 1291/1874.
- . Sharh 'Ayn al-'Ilm wa-Zayn al-Ḥilm. 2 vols. Cairo: Maktabat al-Thagāfa al-Dīniyya, 1989.
- Sharḥ al-Shifā. 2 vols. Bulāq: 1275/1858. Repr. Maṭbaʿat al-Ḥajj al-Busnawī, 1285/ 1868. Repr. Āstāna [Istanbul]: 1290/1873. Repr. Āsitāna: al-Maṭbaʿat al-ʿUthmāniyya, 1316/1898. Repr. Cairo: 1312/1894. Repr. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, n.d.
- Al-Qāsimī. *Qawāʻid al-Taḥdīth*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʻIlmiyya and Dār Iḥyā' al-Sunna al-Nabawiyya, n.d.
- Al-Qurtubī. Al-Asnā fī Sharḥ Asmā' Allāh al-Ḥusnā. 2 vols. Ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan Jabal, Ṭāriq Aḥmad Muḥammad, and Majdī Fatḥī al-Sayyid. Tanta: Dār al-Ṣaḥāba līl-Turāth, 1995.
- Al-Qushayrī. [*Tafsīr*] *Latā'if al-Ishārāt*. 6 vols. Ed. Ibrāhīm Basyūnī. Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1969.
- ———. Al-Risāla. Cairo: Dār al-Ţibā'a al-'Āmira, 1287/1870. With Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī's commentary in the margins.
- ———. Al-Risāla. Eds. 'Abd al-Halīm Maḥmūd and Maḥmūd ibn al-Sharīf. Cairo: Rida Tawfīq 'Afīfī, 1974.
- Al-Rāghib al-Aşfahānī. *Mufradāt Alfāz al-Qur'ān*. Ed. Şafwān 'Adnān Dāwūd. Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 1998.
- Ra'ūf, 'Imād 'Abd al-Salām. Al-Āthār al-Khaṭṭiyya fīl-Maktabat al-Qādiriyya fī Baghdād. 3 vols. Baghdād: Maṭba'at al-Ma'ārif, 1980.
- Al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn. *Asās al-Taqdīs*. Ed. Muḥammad 'Uraybī. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Lubnānī, 1993.
- . Mafātiḥ al-Ghayb [al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr] with Abū al-Suʿūd's Tafsīr. 9 vols. Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿat al-ʿĀmira, 1308/1890.
- Al-Rifā ʿī, Aḥmad. *Al-Burhān al-Mu'ayyad*. Beirut and Aleppo: Dār al-Kitāb al-Nafīs, 1987.

- Al-Rifā'ī, Yūsuf. Naṣīḥa li-Ikhwāninā 'Ulamā' Najd. Damascus: Iqra', 2000. Advice to Our Brothers the Scholars of Najd, followed by 'Alawī ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥaddād, Refutation of the Innovator from Najd (Introduction). Trans. G.F. Ḥaddād. Damascus: Maktabat al-Aḥbāb, 2000 and 2002.
- Sa'īd ibn Manşūr. Sunan. 2 vols. Ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-A'zamī. India: al-Dār al-Salafiyya, 1982.
- Al-Sakhāwī. *Al-Daw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'*. 12 vols. in 6. Ed. Muḥammad Jamāl al-Qāsimī. 1313/1896. Repr. Beirut: Dār al-Jil, 1992.
- ———. Al-I'lān wal-Tawbīkh liman Dhamma al-Tārīkḥ Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1979.
- Al-Jawāhir wal-Durar fī Manāqib Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Ḥajar. Ed. Ḥāmid 'Abd al-Majīd and Ṭaha al-Zaynī. Cairo: Lajnat Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1986.
- . Al-Qawl al-Badīʿ fīl-Ṣalāt ʿalā al-Ḥabīb al-Shafīʿ. Ed. Muḥammad ʿAwwāma. Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Rayyān, 2002. Unedited: Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1987.
- Salmān, Mashhūr Ḥasan. Al-Rudūd wal-Taʻaqqubāt ʻalā Mā Waqaʻa lil-Imām al-Nawawī fī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim min al-Ta'wīl fīl-Ṣifāt wa-Ghayrihā min al-Masāʾil al-Muhimmāt. Riyadh: Dār al-Hijra, 1993.
- Al-Samannūdī. Saʻādat al-Dārayn fil-Radd ʻalā al-Firqatayn: al-Wahhābiyya wa-Muqallidat al-Ṭāhiriyya. 2 vols. Ed. Muḥammad Maḥmūd walad Muḥammad Amīn. Cairo: Maktabat al-Imām Mālik, 2005.
- Al-Shāfiʿī. [Musnad.] Tartīb Musnad al-Imām al-Aʿzam wal-Mujtahid al-Muqaddam Abī ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī. 2 vols. Eds. Yūsuf ʿAlī al-Zawlawī al-Ḥasanī and ʿIzzat ʿAṭṭār al-Ḥusaynī. Cairo: n.p., 1951. Repr. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, n.d.
- Al-Shahrastānī. Al-Milal wal-Niḥal. 2 vols. Ed. Muḥammad Sayyid Kīlānī. Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 1984.
- Al-Shawkānī. [Tafsīr] Fatḥ al-Qadīr al-Jāmi' Bayna Fannay al-Riwāya wal-Dirāya min 'Ilm al-Tafsīr. 5 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.d.
- . Nayl al-Awṭār. 9 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1973.
- Al-Shīrāzī, Abū Isḥāq. Al-Ishāra ilā Madhhab Ahl al-Ḥaqq. Ed. Muḥammad al-Zabīdī. Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1999.
- Al-Subkī, Taqī al-Dīn. Al-Durrat al-Muḍiyya fīl-Radd 'alā Ibn Taymiyya. Ed. Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī. Damascus: Maṭba'at al-Taraqqī, 1929.
- Al-Rasā'il al-Subkiyya fil-Radd 'alā Ibn Taymiyya wa-Tilmīdhihi Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya. Ed. Kamāl al-Ḥūt. Beirut: 'Alam al-Kutub, 1983.

- ———. Al-Sayf al-Şaqīl fīl-Radd 'alā Ibn Zafīl. Ed. al-Kawtharī. Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Sa'āda, 1937.
- . Shifā' al-Siqām bi-Ziyārati Khayri al-Anām. Beirut: Lajnat al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1971. Al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. Al-Durr al-Manthūr fīl-Tafsīr al-Ma'thūr. 8 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1994.
- Sufyān al-Thawrī. *Tafsīr Sufyān al-Thawrī*. Ed. Imtiyāz 'Alī. Rampūr: Maktabat al-Riḍā, n.d. Repr. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1983.
- Al-Sulamī. Al-Muqaddima fīl-Taṣawwuf wa-Ḥaqīqatih. Ed. Yūsuf Zaydān. Cairo: Maktabat al-Kulliyyāt al-Azhariyya, 1987.
- . *Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣūfiyya*. Ed. Nūr al-Dīn Shurayba. Aleppo: Dār al-Kitāb al-Nafīs, 1986. Reprint of the 1953 edition.
- Al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. Al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaghīr min Ḥadīth al-Bashīr al-Nadhīr \$2.2 vols. Ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. Damascus: Maktabat al-Ḥalbūnī, 1983.
- . Al-Durr al-Manthür fil-Tafsīr al-Ma'thūr. 8 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1994.
- ———. Al-Itqān fī 'Ulūm al-Qurʾān. 2 vols. Ed. Muṣṭafā Dīb al-Bughā. Damascus: Dār Ibn Kathīr, 1993.
- ———. Al-La'āli' al-Maṣnū' a fīl-Aḥādīth al-Mawḍū' a. 2 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 1983.
- . Al-La'āli' al-Maṣnū' a fīl-Aḥādīth al-Mawḍū' a. 3 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1996.
- Sharh Sunan al-Nasāī. 9 vols. Ed. 'Abd al-Fattah Abū Ghudda. Aleppo and Beirut: Maktab al-Maṭbū'āt al-Islāmiyya, 1986. Includes al-Nasā'ī's Sunan.
- -----. Tabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz. Ed. 'Alī 'Umar. Cairo: Maktabat Wahba, 1973.
- . 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Dihlawī, and Fakhr al-Ḥasan al-Gangohi. Sharḥ Sunan Ibn Mājah. Karachi: Qadimi Kutub Khana, n.d. Includes Ibn Mājah's Sunan.
- Al-Ṭabarānī. Al-Mu'jam al-Awsaṭ. 10 vols. Eds. Ṭāriq ibn 'Awaḍ Allāh and 'Abd al-Muḥsin ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥusaynī. Cairo: Dār al-Ḥaramayn, 1995.
- ———. Al-Muʻjam al-Kabīr. 20 vols. Ed. Ḥamdī ibn ʻAbd al-Majīd al-Salafī. Mosul: Maktabat al-ʻUlum wal-Ḥikam, 1983.
- . Musnad al-Shāmiyyīn. 2 vols. Ed. Ḥamdī ibn 'Abd al-Majīd al-Salafī. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1984.

- Al-Țabari, Muḥammad ibn Jarīr. Jāmi al-Bayān fi Tafsīr al-Quran. 30 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1980; Dār al-Fikr, 1985.
- Tafsīr Sufyān al-Thawrī. See Sufyān al-Thawrī.
- Al-Tahānawī. I'la' al-Sunan. 21 vols. Ed. Muḥammad Taqī 'Uthmānī. Karachi: Idārat al-Qur'ān wal-'Ulūm al-Islamiyya, 1995. First two introductory volumes contain [1] al-Tahānawī's Qawā'id fī 'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth, ed. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda; [2] al-Kirānawī's Fawā'id fī 'Ulūm al-Fiqh and al-Tahanawi's Abu Hanifa wa-Ashabuhu al-Muhaddithun.
- Al-Tilimsani. See al-Maggari.
- Al-Tirmidhī. Sunan. 5 vols. Ed. Aḥmad Shākir and Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī. Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, n.d. See also al-Mubārakfūrī, Tuhfat al-Ahwadhi.
- Al-Tughrībardī. Al-Nujūm al-Zāhira fī Mulūk Miṣr wal-Qāhira. 16 vols. Cairo: al-Mu'assasat al-Miṣriyya, 1963-1971.
- Al-Wāḥidī. Asbāb al-Nuzūl. Ed. Ayman Ṣāliḥ Shaʿbān. Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1996.
- —. Al-Wajīz fī Tafsīr al-Kitāb al-ʿAzīz. 2 vols. Ed. Şafwān ʿAdnan Dāwūdī. Damascus and Beirut: Dār al-Qalam and al-Dār al-Shamiyya, 1995.
- Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī. Muʻjam al-Buldān. 5 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.d.
- Al-Zabīdī, Ithāf al-Sādat al-Muttaqīn bi-Sharh Asrār Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn. Printed together with the text of the Ihya' in the margins. Also with 'Abd al-Qādir ibn 'Abd Allāh al-'Aydarūs Bā 'Alawi's Ta'rif al-Aḥyā' bi-Fadā'il al-Ihyā' and al-Ghazzālī's al-Imlā 'an Ishkālāt al-Iḥyā'. 10 vols. Cairo: al-Matba at al-Maymuniyya, 1311/1893.
- Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī. Al-Maqṣid li-Talkhīṣ mā fīl-Murshid fīl-Waqf wal-Ibtidā'. Damascus: Dar al-Mushaf, 1985.
- Al-Zamakhsharī. Al-Fā'iq fī Gharīb al-Ḥadīth. 4 vols. 2nd ed. Ed. Muḥammad al-Bijānī and Muḥammad Abū al-Fāḍl Ibrāhīm. Cairo: 'Īsā Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1969-1971. Repr. Beirut: Dar al-Ma'rifa, n.d. and Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1996.
- Al-Zarqānī. Manāhil al-'Irfān fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān. 2 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1996.







INDEX OF QUR'ĀNIC VERSES

1:4, 192	5:48, 219
2:15, 112	6:3, 113
2:29, 168, 177, 180	6:18, 17, 22, 204
2:42, 155	6:38, 190
2:61, 226	6:51, 190
2:75, 200	6:61, 12, 15, 121
2:93, 112	6:79, 245
2:115, 112, 116, 224	6:103, 132
2:208-209, 15	6:108, 190
2:210, 15	6:114, 186
2:239, 117	6:124, 213
2:245, 120	7:54, 181
2:255, 117, 275	7:127, 180, 204
2:275, 219	7:172, 13
3:2, 275	7:185, 266
3:7, 17, 25, 107, 261, 279-280	8:165, 219
3:37, 116	9:13, 25
3:55, 178, 219	9:40, 197, 198
3:137, 202, 209	10:3, 181
3:142, 113	10:101, 266
3:187, 155	11:37, 221
4:27, 113	12:76, 280
4:46, 200	13:9, 25
4:50, 172	13:52, 181
4:59, 115	14:4, 228
4:82, 124	15:2, 48
4:91, 154	16:26, 224
4:108, 114	16:33, 15
4:115, 276	16:36, 202, 209
5:13, 200	16:44, 155
5:41, 76, 200	16:50, 180

16:92, 219	41:53, 267	
16:128, 118	42:11, 81, 116, 130, 133, 139,	
18:54, 43	141, 158, 221, 230, 275	
18:78, 115	43:19, 175	
19:65, 275	43:32, 180, 204	
20:4, 110,111, 166, 197, 198,	43:63, 219	
214, 252, 271	43:84, 114, 168	
20:5, 40, 126, 131, 132, 135,	48:10, 17, 204	
166, 181, 211, 245	48:29, 110	
20:46, 98, 118	50:16, 114, 136, 182, 223	
20:71, 166, 197, 198	51:21, 113	
20:111, 275	51:22, 253	
21:2, 224	51:47, 223	
21:22, 266	51:56, 113	
22:69, 219	52:48, 221	
22:78, 282	54:14, 221	
23:27, 221	55:27, 116	
23:91, 266	55:29, 152	
24:35, 223	56:28-38, 281	
25:59, 181	57:4, 114, 116, 133, 166, 181-182,	
26:23, 185	195, 196, 198	
26:24, 185	57:25, 186	
28:88, 276	58:7, 133, 166, 197, 198, 203	
30:28, 251	58:18, 153	
32:4, 181	59:2, 201, 276	
33:37, 247	59:24, 275	
34:46, 267	67:4, 240	
35:10, 177	67:16, 114, 141, 179	
36:36, 226	68:4, 13	
36:71, 223	68:35, 85	
36:78-79, 266	68:42, 222	
37:99, 190	69:17, 276	
37:180, 143	69:32, 123	
38:25, 190	70:4, 179	
38:75, 129	75:22-23, 18	
39:6, 186, 258	82:8, 26	
39:56, 112, 119, 222	89:7, 274	
39:67, 242, 251, 281	89:14, 165	
40:16, 193	89:22, 118, 224	
40:36-37, 184	90:13, 122	
40:37, 185	96:19, 224, 254	
41:11, 116	98:5, 113	
41:42, 186	112:1-4, 136	

INDEX OF NARRATIONS

Accept the truth from whoever states it (Mu'ādh), 265

After being burnt to the bone (umtuḥishū) they will be taken out, 85

Allah descends every night to the nearest heaven, 258

Allāh - in the heaven is His Throne and on earth His dominion, 211

Allah is above the Throne, 196, 197

Allāh is now as He ever was ('Alī), 141

Allah places the heavens on a finger..., 122

And I bear witness to the same, 158

Are you not praying?, 43

[The] balance is in the hand of the Merciful, He elevates a people while he abases others, 122

[The] best of generations are my century, 108

Beware the error of the wise man (Mu'adh), 265

[The] Black Stone is the depository of the covenant of human souls ('Aisha), 225

[The] Black Stone is the right hand of Allāh on earth, 224-225

[The] Black Stone shall appear with two eyes and a tongue on the Day of Resurrection, 225

[The] corner of the Black Stone is the Right Hand, 225

Dajjāl is one-eyed whereas your Lord is not one-eyed, 222

Do not curse the wind for it is part of the breath of the Merciful, 225

Do not indulge in mutual praise for it is nothing short of butchery, 155

Do you not trust me, when I am trusted..., 191

[The] forearm of Allāh is stronger, 121

Give laud to Allah for He deserves laud (Ibn Abī Ṣalt), 210

Ḥadīth of the Mountain Goats, 197, 205, 208, 209

Have I not conveyed the Message?, 215

He maims camels, 121

His kursī encompasses the heavens and the earth, 92

His kursī is His knowledge (Ibn 'Abbās), 117

How can even the most eloquent tongues describe Him ('Alī), 136

I am according to My servant's opinion of Me, 190

I am as My servant thinks of Me, 224

I cannot render count of Your Glory!, 260

I cannot sufficiently extol Your praise, 174

I fear three things for my Community most of all, 222

I find the breath of the Merciful coming from Yemen, 224

I have prepared for My righteous servants what no eyes have ever seen, 281

I sit with him who remembers Me, 224, 225

I was hungry and you did not feed Me, 120

I was married off by Allah from above seven heavens (Zaynab), 247

I was ordered to fight people until they say lā ilāha illallāh, 157, 160, 162

If he comes to Me walking, I come to him running, 224

If he mentions Me in himself I mention him in Myself, 224

Incapacity to attain comprehension is comprehension, 174, 260

Invite them to the testimony that there is no God but Allāh and Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allāh, 89

It is not the sword but the sā'id [forearm]! (Zubayr), 121

Let no one spit in front of him in prayer, 195

Light shines over the truth (Mu'ādh), 265

Mounts are not to be saddled but to travel to three mosques, 53

My Community shall divide into seventy-three sects, 73

My servant! I was sick and you never visited Me, 120

[The] nearest to Allāh a servant can be is in his prostration, 254

No one always keeps his ablution except a believer, 65

No one spends something except the Merciful takes it with His right hand, 251

None should compete with his brother's transaction, 276

O Allah! Bear witness, 215

O Transformer of hearts! Make firm our hearts in Your Religion, 122

Only a hypocrite has hatred for you, 43

Our Lord, Allāh, in the heaven hallowed be Your Name, 191, 192

[The] Prophet so walked away, slapping his thigh and saying {Man disputes much}, 43

Sharīd recited to the Prophet ## up to one hundred lines of poetry by Umayya, 210

Some people claim that 'Allāh uncovers His Shin' (Sa'īd ibn Jubayr), 223

[The] soul exits the body then is taken up to the heaven, 209

That is some sword! (Zubayr), 121

There is no heart except it lies between the two fingers of the Merciful, 122

There is nothing of Paradise in the lower world except the names (Ibn 'Abbās),

Thickness of the skin of the disbeliever will be forty cubits, 123

Truly, sadaqa falls into the palm of the Merciful, 122

[The] upper hand is better than the lower hand, 122

Verily You are just as You have glorified Yourself, 174, 260

Whenever one of you stands to pray, 195

Where is Allah?, 168-169

Whoever among you is afflicted by something, 191

Whoever clings to my present path and that of my Companions, 230

Whoever comes near Me one hand-span I come near him one cubit, 224

Whoever visits me in al-Madīna anticipating reward, I shall be for him a witness and an intercessor, 60

Whoever visits my grave, my intercession is guaranteed for him, 52, 59-63

Words of truth spoken to support falsehood ('Alī), 174

You are just as You have glorified Yourself, 174, 260

You shall see your Lord just as you see the moon on the night it is full, 164



GENERAL INDEX OF ARABIC TERMS, NAMES AND WORKS

Abān ibn Sim'ān, 233 'Abbād al-Wāsiţī, 247 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, 193 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr, 122, 225, 230 'Abd Allāh ibn Ahmad, 245, 246, 286, 287 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥunayn, 174 'Abd Allāh ibn Qilāba, 273-274 'Abd Allāh ibn Rawāḥa, 209 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Juhanī, 241 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir, 91 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Mahdī, 117, 246-247 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ziyād al-Ifrīqī, 'Abd al-Razzāq, 174 'Abd ibn Ḥumayd, 223 Abū 'Awāna, 241, 245 Abū 'Uthmān al-Maghribī, 169-170, 214 Abū al-'Alā' 'Ābidīn, 167 Abū al-Bakhtarī, 174 Abū al-Dardā', 191, 192, 222, 280 Abū al-Fadl al-Tamīmī, 128, 213 Abū al-Ḥasan ibn al-Bukhārī, 11 Abū al-Layth al-Samarqandī, 16 Abū al-Shaykh, 201, 287 Abū al-Su'ūd, 178, 223 Abū Bakr al-Şiddīq, 43, 174 Abū Bakrah, 215

Abū Dāwūd, 19, 73, 193, 215, 245, 254, 265 Abū Ghādiya, 215 Abū Ghudda, 33, 35, 58-60, 66, 285, 287, 298, 301 Abū Ḥanīfa, 16, 38, 50, 128, 131, 132, 137, 156, 160, 164, 167-169, 229, 238, 243, 244, 246, 253, 263 Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, 241 Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī, 65, 126, 127, 179, 206 Abū Hurayra, 73, 85, 120, 122, 123, 164, 190, 209, 223-225, 251, 254, 261, 276, 281 Abū Ishāq al-Marwazī, 252 Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, 117, 252 Abū Nu'aym, 136, 166, 201, 211, 225, 231, 239, 246, 249, 287 Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, 85, 191, 201, 215, 223 Abū Umāma, 122, 280 Abū Yaʻlā al-Ḥanbalī, 21, 132, 140, Abū Ya'lā al-Mawsilī, 73, 193 Abū Yūsuf, 243 Abū Zahra, 91, 93, 96, 99, 175 'Adawi, 149 adhān, 63 Adhkyā', 209 Advice to the Scholars of Najd, 246 Aghā (Munīr 'Abduh), 252

āhād, 212 Aḥād wal-Mathānī, 225 Aḥādīth wal-Āthār al-Mutazā'ida fī anna al-Ṭalāq al-Thalātha Wāhida, 49 Ahkām al-Qur'ān, 82 Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, 18, 21, 36, 43, 50, 59, 65, 70, 73, 77, 78, 88, 92, 121-123, 128, 129, 131, 132, 136, 158-161, 190, 192, 193, 200, 209, 213, 215, 224, 225, 228, 238, 241, 243-245, 251, 261, 281, 284, 291 Ahl al-Sunna, 22, 24, 64, 81, 85, 91-92, 101, 102, 105, 106, 113, 123, 124, 133, 152, 154, 157, 160, 163-165, 170, 179, 186, 222, 230, 252 'A'isha, 63, 174, 185, 225, 267 'Ajlūnī, 60, 225 Ajurrī, 193, 196, 238 Ajwiba al-Makkiyya, 53 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Bukhārī, 19, 32, 48 'Alā'ī, 27, 28, 66, 70, 71, 77, 78, 139 Albānī, 62, 90, 91, 136, 284, 286, 288 🦤 Albānī and His Friends, 14, 77 alghāz, 276 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, 42, 43, 136, 141, 155, 174, 260 ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Shaqīq, 136, Alūsī (Maḥmūd), 112, 116, 274 Alūsī (Nu'mān), 23, 58, 77, 288 'Amal al-Yawm wal-Layla, 192, 225 Amālī al-Maḥāmilī, 174 'āmmī, 111, 261 'Amr ibn 'Abbās al-Bāhilī, 247 Anas, 60, 73, 122, 224, 225, 231, 247, 280, 285 angels, 15, 20, 160, 178-179, 190, 191, 208, 211 anthropomorphism, 14, 15-21, 80-83, 100, 124, 153, 156, 168, 182-184, 203, 209, 226, 230, 234, 247-249, 276, 283

Aqāwīl al-Thiqāt, 158, 159, 223 ^c Aqīda Wāsiṭiyya, 39, 197, 221 ' Aqīdat Ahl al-Īmān fī Khalqi Ādam alā Şūrat al-Raḥmān, 14 ʻ Aqīdat al-Islāmiyya Bayn al-Salafiyya wal-Muʻtazila, 108 'Aqidat al-Salaf, 248 'Aqīdat Ibn 'Arabī, 167 'Āriḍat al-Aḥwadhī, 185, 210, 239 Arna'ūţ (Shu'ayb), 222, 237, 241, 286 'Āṣim ibn 'Alī ibn 'Āṣim, 247 'Aşim ibn Damra, 174 Aşma'ī, 19, 93, 210 Asās al-Taqdīs, 22, 83 Asbāb al-Nuzūl, 15 Ashʻarī, 65, 79, 81, 141, 167, 170, 183, 213, 230, 241, 252, 253 Asmā' wal-Ṣifāt, 16, 86, 91, 117, 126, 132, 191, 195, 221, 222, 224, 237-239, 244, 245, 247, 251 Asnā fī Sharḥ Asmā' Allāh al-Ḥusnā, Asrār al-Marfūʻa, 20 Atābakiyya, 11 Āthār al-Khaṭṭiyya fīl-Maktabat al-Qādiriyya fī Baghdād, 37 atheists, 154, 167, 228 Athram, 241 awamm, 240, 260 Awāṣim min al-Qawāsim, 123 'Awn ibn Abī Juḥayfa, 174 Awzāʿi, 50, 237, 238, 246 ayd, aydī, 223 Ayyūb al-Sakhtyani, 246 'Azama, 117, 201 azalī, 164 bā'in, 135-138, 244, 245 Bad' al-' Ilqa bi-Labs al-Khirqa, 45 Bādirā'iyya, 11-12 Baghawī, 18, 112, 116, 118, 221, 239 Baghdādī (Abū Manṣūr 'Abd al-Qāhir), 19, 37, 83, 93, 141

Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ, 127, 179 Consensus, 123, 28, 46, 48, 50, 67, Bājī, 224, 250 72, 74, 80, 84, 91, 114, 130, 134, Bājūrī, 108 229, 230, 276, 289 Barā'at al-Ash' ariyyīn, 86-89, 298 Copts, 180 Barda'ī, 165 Daw' al-Lāmi', 33 Bārnibārī, 127 Diyā' al-Maqdisī, 60, 281 Daf Shubah al-Tashbīh, 21, 182, Bayādī, 38 Bayān Talbīs al-Jahmiyya, 81-83, 222, 245 132, 230, 237 Dar al-Ḥadīth, 11 Bayān Zaghl al-'Ilm, 34, 68, 69 Dar' Ta' āruḍ al-' Aql wal-Naql, 82, Baydawi, 117, 178, 223 130, 239 Bayhaqī, 16, 59-61, 91, 117, 126, 129, Dāraquṭnī, 59-61, 117, 209 Dārimī ('Abd Allāh), 65, 174, 225, 132, 136, 138, 168, 174, 191, 195, 201, 221, 222, 224, 225, 229, 237-260-261, 281 Dārimī ('Uthmān), 83, 129, 135, 239, 241, 244-247, 251, 265, 281 Bazzār (Abū Bakr), 31, 58-59, 225 211, 213, 245 Bazzār ('Umar), 31, 58 Daf Shubahi Man Shabbaha wa-Belief of the People of Truth, 153 Tamarrad wa-Nasāba Dhālika ilā bidʻa, 50, 97-99, 109, 141 al-Imām Aḥmad, 21, 39, 40 Bidāya min al-Kifāya fī Uṣūl al-Dīn, Dahlan, 56, 87 dahriyya, 211 Bidāya wal-Nihāya, 12, 14, 66, 117, dajjāl, 222, 286 138, 174, 186, 233, 273, 286, 288 Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa, 211 bi-dhātih, 21, 91, 135, 137, 248 Dāni, 280 Birzālī, 12, 94 Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris, 273 Bishr al-Marrisi, 83, 130, 135, 235, Dāwūd al-Zāhirī, 184 245 Dhahabī, 11, 12, 27, 31, 34-35, 41, Brahmans, 134, 218 57, 59, 60, 62, 64-70, 73, 78, 90-92, Bughyat al-Aḥlām, 56 95, 117, 122, 130-131, 136-139, Bukhārī, 43, 64, 76, 79, 85, 116-117, 186, 191, 209, 211, 221, 222, 235, 120, 122, 125, 156, 157, 164, 174, 237, 241, 244-246, 248-250, 273, 185, 190, 191, 195, 222-225, 246, 286, 288 247, 260, 267, 276, 281 Dhakhā'ir al-Qaṣr fī Tarājim Nubalā' Bundar, 252 al- 'Asr, 28 Burhān, 30 Dhamm al-Kalām, 136, 137 Burhān al-Mu'ayyad, 168, Dhamm al-Ta'wil, 18, 161, 199, 238, Burhān al-Shāmī, 12 243, 248 Būṭī (Sa'īd), 16, 68, 103, 108, 292, Dhayl Țabaqāt al-Ḥanābila (Ibn 293 Rajab), 32, 36, 37, 64, 66, 78, 95, Byzantines, 217 128, 284, 288 Christians, 15, 64, 111, 134, 217-219, Dhimmis, 246 228 Dhū al-Nūn, 166, 250

Dībāj al-Mudhahhab, 167, 250 Diobandiyya, 14 divorce, 28, 48-50, 66, 74, 84, 293 Dīwān al-Ṣabāba, 154 Durar al-Kāmina, 12, 40, 41, 66, 67, 94, 206, 288 Durr al-Manthür, 112, 116, 117, 223 Durrat al-Fākhira, 44 Durrat al-Mudiyya fil-Radd 'alā Ibn Taymiyya, 22, 31, 48, 72, 73, 84, 85 Durrat al-Yatīmiyya fīl-Sīrat al-Taymiyya, 35 expiation for perjury (kaffārat yamīn), 28 Faḍā'il al-A' māl, 60 Fadā'il al-Shāfi' ī, 229 Faḍāla ibn 'Ubayd, 192 Fadānī, 150 Fārisī, 165 Faruq fil-Şifat, 248 Fasl al-Maqal, 169 Fatāwā al-Ramlī, 22 Fatāwā Ḥadīthiyya, 23, 73, 77 Fath al-Bārī, 5, 50, 54, 62, 75, 76, 79, 109, 117, 119, 129, 168, 191, 195, 201, 222, 275 Fath al-Qadir, 117, 274 Fawā'id al-Bahiyya, 229 fawq, fawqiyya, 14, 17, 37, 93, 96, 135, 169, 175, 180, 191, 195, 196, 200, 202, 204, 208, 213, 237, 244, 245, 251, 259, 287 Fayd al-Qadīr, 174 Fayrūzābādī, 12, 197 Figh al-Absat, 38, 168 Fiqh al-Akbar, 16, 38, 128, 160, 263, 302 Fișal fil-Milal, 17, 222-223 Four Imams and Their Schools, 18, 77, 78, 109, 131, 157, 237, 241, 243, 244, 291 Futuh al-Ghayb, 46

Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya, 44 Ghāwjī, 107, 168, 297-302 ghāya, ghāyāt, 81, 139, 230 Ghāyat al-Muntahā, 51 Ghazzālī, 21, 22, 42, 68, 93, 101, 108, 138, 171, 221, 240, 253, 257 Ghumārī, 57, 60, 127, 284 Ghunya, 250 Gibrīl, 179 Gīlānī ('Abd al-Qādir al-), 45-46, grave, Prophet's, 50-52, 57, 60, 62, 63, 77, 102 Greeks, 172, 175, 217, 219 hadd, 16, 81, 128, 139, 189, 230, 241, Ḥajjāj, 155 Ḥajjī Khalīfa, 33, 65, 127 Ḥākim, 73, 117, 122, 137, 138, 191-193, 222. 225, 231, 265, 280, 286 Ḥalabī (Nūr al-Dīn), 56 Hallāj, 165 Ḥammād ibn Salama, 136 Ḥammād ibn Zayd, 90, 136, 241, 245 - 247 Ḥaqā'iq al-Jaliyya fīl-Radd 'alā Ibn Taymiyya fimā Awradahu fil-Fatwā al-Ḥamawiyya li-Ibni Jahbal, 151 haqiqatan, 21, 37, 93, 195-196, 208, 238 Harawī al-Anṣārī, 136-138, 248, 294 Hārūn al-Rashīd, 243 Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, 155, 157 Ḥasan ibn Zyād al-Lu'lu'i, 229 Hashwiyya, 101, 153-154, 156, 157, 159, 162, 163, 172, 177, 181-183, 213 Ḥāwī fī Sīrat al-Imām Abī Ja' far al-Tahāwī, 173 Hawwas, 134 Haytamī, 23, 58, 60, 73, 77, 149-150

Haythami, 59, 117, 158, 222, 225 Hidāyat al-Sālik ilā Ma'rifat al-Manāsik, 56 Ḥikam al-Rifā'ī, 5 Hilyat al-Awliyā', 136, 166, 201, 239, 249 Himyari ('Isā), 57, 103, 104, 136 Hindus, 134, 172, 175, 217, 219, 228 Ḥiṣnī (Taqī al-Dīn), 21, 39 Hubayshī, 151 huduth, 94 Ḥujjat Allāh 'alā al-'Ālamīn, 57 Ibāna, 167, 213, 300 Ibānat Ibn al-Bāqillānī, 253 'Ibar fi Khabari Man 'Abar, 11, 35 Iblis, 153 Ibn 'Abbās, 76, 112-113, 116-118, 155, 222, 225, 261, 275, 280, 281, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, 50, 109, 209, 238, 239, 250, 251, 254 Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī, 31, 35, 45-46, 49, 50, 57-58, 61, 62, 253 Ibn 'Abd al-Salām, 22, 100, 101, 112, 141, 153, 223 Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, 87, 95-97, 135, 136, 200 Ibn Abi 'Āṣim, 193, 225, 286, 287 Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 112, 116, 275, 291 Ibn Abī al- 'Izz, 85, 86, 164 Ibn Abī Shayba (Abū Bakr), 174, Ibn Abī Shayba (Abū Ja'far), 117 Ibn Abī 'Umar, 225 Ibn Abī al-Wafā, 252 Ibn Abī Ya'lā, 160, 161, 200, 214 Ibn Abī Zayd, 239, 250, 290 Ibn 'Adī, 59, 225 Ibn 'Ajība, 166 Ibn 'Arabī (Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn), 44, 167, 174 Ibn al- 'Arabī (al-Mālikī), 82, 120, 185, 210, 239

Ibn 'Asākir, 11, 60, 63, 141, 209, 210, 225, 231, 253 Ibn al-Athir, 215, 231 Ibn al-Bāqillānī, 141, 253 Ibn Barrajān, 273 Ibn Baṭṭa, 18, 90, 161, 241 Ibn Baṭṭāl, 129, 184, 223 Ibn Bāz, 54, 61, 133, 134 Ibn al-Dubaythi, 59 Ibn Farhün, 167, 250 Ibn Fatik, 165 Ibn Fürak, 141, 156, 169, 170, 223, 225, 235, 241, 252 Ibn Ḥajar, 5, 12, 33, 39-41, 49-50, 53, 54, 59-60, 62, 66-67, 75-76, 79, 94, 100, 109, 117, 119, 131, 138-139, 156, 168, 174, 184, 191, 195, 201, 206, 210, 222, 237, 239, 248, 275, 286, 288 Ibn Ḥazm, 17, 32, 67, 84, 186, 217, 221-223, 284 Ibn Ḥibbān, 60, 89, 122, 138, 156, 174, 190, 201, 222, 225, 241, 248, 286 Ibn Hubayra, 50-51 Ibn al-Humām, 22, 111, 142 Ibn 'Imad, 41, 79, 273 Ibn Jama'a, 17, 56, 71, 74, 107, 141, Ibn al-Jawzi, 21, 51, 59, 112, 116, 117, 182, 193, 209, 222, 225, 245, 286 Ibn al-Juwaynī, 22, 30,141, 218, 253 Ibn Kathir, 12, 14, 15, 31, 76, 92, 94, 100, 113, 117, 138, 174, 186, 223, 233, 237, 273, 286-288 Ibn Khafif, 68, 241 Ibn Khaldūn, 274 Ibn Khallikan, 273 Ibn Khuzayma, 61, 117, 136-138, 193, 246-247 Ibn Kullāb, 79, 141, 241

Ibn al-Kutbi, 12 Ibn al-Labban, 22 Ibn Mahdī al-Ṭabarī, 126, 136 Ibn Mājah, 60, 65, 73, 122, 155, 193, 209, 215, 224, 225, 251, 281 Ibn al-Mājishūn, 240-242, 247, 248, 259, 281 Ibn Manzūr, 197 Ibn Mas'ūd, 108, 122, 215 Ibn al-Mibrad. See Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī (Yüsuf) Ibn al-Mubārak, 136, 238, 244-245, Ibn Muflih, 48, 51 Ibn al-Munayyir, 22 Ibn al-Mundhir, 50, 223 Ibn al-Naqīb, 11 Ibn al-Nu'mān al-Tilimsānī, 56 Ibn al-Qāḍī Shuhba, 70, 71, 252 Ibn Qattan al-Fasi, 50 Ibn al-Qawwas, 11 Ibn al-Qaysarānī, 192 Ibn al-Qayyim, 21, 31,46, 64, 75, 78, 83, 94, 126, 134, 186, 209, 237, 249, 283-295 Ibn Qudāma, 18, 45-46, 48, 51, 159, 161, 199, 209, 238, 243, 248 Ibn Qutayba, 154, 222, 225 Ibn Rajab, 32, 36, 37, 46, 49, 64, 66, 78, 283, 288 Ibn Rushd, 169 Ibn al-Şalah, 291 Ibn al-Sam'ānī, 247 Ibn Sha'ban, 169 Ibn Shahin, 166 Ibn al-Subkī, 14, 32, 37, 41, 74, 75, 138, 150, 151, 186, 229, 249, 252 Ibn al-Tubbānī, 86-89, 100, 285, 298 Ibn Tülün, 28, 78 Ibn 'Umar, 59-62, 122, 155, 195, 215, 222, 276 Ibn 'Uthaymin, 133-135, 161, 221

Ibn al-Wardī, 35 Ibrāz al-Ghay fī Shifā' al-'Ay, 57, 62, 302 Ibțāl al-Ta'wīl, 132 Īḍāḥ al-Dalīl, 17, 107, 125, 141, 168 Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn, 22 Ijmāʻ ʻinda A'immat Ahl al-Sunna al-Arba'a, 50 Ijtimā' al-Juyūsh al-Islāmiyya, 83, 209, 237, 285 Iklīl fīl-Mutashābih wal-Ta'wīl, 18-20 'Ilal al-Mutanāhiya, 193 Iʻlān wal-Tawbīkh, 32, 34, 69, 70 ilghāz, 229 Iljām al-'Awāmm, 138, 171, 240 'Imād 'Abd al-Salām Ra'ūf, 37 Imām al-Ḥaramayn. See Ibn al-Juwayni Imtā' bi-Sīrat al-Imāmayn, 229 imtizaj, 245 Inbā' al-Ghumr bi-A' mār al-' Umr, 'indiyya, 190 infiṣāl, 189 Igāz al-Himam,166 'Iqd al-Farid, 154 Iqnā' fī Masā'il al-Ijmā', 50 'Irāqī, 53-54, 73, 195, 253 Irshād, 165 Isfarāyīnī (Abū Ishāq), 75, 104, 252 Ishaq ibn Rahuyah, 90, 136 Ishāra ilā al-Ījāz fi Ba'ḍ Anwā' al-Majāz, 112, 223 Ishārāt al-Marām, 38 Islamic Beliefs and Doctrine According to Ahl al-Sunna, 179 Ismā'ili (Abū Bakr), 92, 248 Israelites, 180 Istī ab, 209 istīlā', 110, 112, 115, 125, 183-184,

Istiqāma, 165, 167-168 istiwā', 18-19, 92-93, 110, 112, 115, 125-126, 163, 169, 181-184, 199-200, 204-205, 239, 245, 249, 262 Ithaf al-Ka'inat bi-Bayan Madhhab al-Salaf wal-Khalaf fil-Mutashābihāt, 141 Ithāf al-Sādat al-Muttaqīn, 22, 31 I' tigād, 238, 249 I' tiqad A'immat al-Ḥadīth, 248 I' tiqad al-Sunna, 248 Itqan fi 'Ulum al-Qur'an, 280 ittisāl, 115, 189 Jābir, 215, 225, 299 Ja'd ibn Dirham, 233-234 Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, 168, 169, 214, 241, 250, 269 Ja far ibn Nuşayr, 167, 214, 250, 271 Jahm ibn Ṣafwān, Jahmiyya, 81-83, 109, 111, 114, 129, 130, 134, 185, 186, 211, 230, 233-235, 240, 243-246, 248, 252, 284 Jalā' al-' Aynayn bi-Muḥākamat al-Ahmadayn, 23, 58, 77 Jalāl al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī, 13 Jāmi' al-Saghīr, 60, 225 Jāmi' al-Uṣūl, 231 Jāmi' fīl-Sunan, 239, 290 Janā al-Dānī, 197 janb, 221-222 jāriḥa, jawāriḥ, 19, 221, 248. See "anthropomorphism." Jarīr al-Bajalī, 164 Jawāhir al-Muḍiyya, 252 jawhar, 81, 230, 271 Jawharat al-Tawhid, 108 Jews, 15, 16, 76, 111, 134, 136, 210, 217, 228, 233, 234 jiha, jihāt, 14, 18, 20, 75, 139, 140, 152, 164, 172, 238, 250, 272

jism, jismiyya, 20, 23, 72, 75, 76, 203, 258, 259. See "anthropomorphism." Jubba'ı, 252 julūs, 18, 181, 184 Junayd, 156, 165-167, 198, 250, 270 Ka'b al-Ahbar, 225, 273 kaff, 121, 231, 251, 257 kāfir, 22, 48, 55, 65, 75, 84, 104, 265 Kalābādhī, 81, 230 kalām, 24, 35, 68, 86, 102, 183, 217-219, 231, 265-267 Kāmil fīl Du' afā', 59, 225, 247 Karmi, 159, 223 Karrāmiyya, 14, 22, 109 kashf, 44, 45, 178, 205 Kashf al-Asrār, 19, 221 Kashf al-Zunūn, 33, 127 Kashkūl, 154 Kathīr ibn Nimr, 174 Kattānī, 94, 150, 157, 231, 294, 295 Kawthari, 16, 33, 38, 41, 71, 80, 83, 126, 127, 130, 136, 140, 173, 182, 195, 209, 213, 229, 230, 245, 297, 298, 301 kayf, kayfiyya, 18-19, 90-92, 161, 164, 165, 221, 239, 245 Khafājī (Aḥmad), 56 Khafājī (Maḥmūd), 108 Khalīlī, 247 Khalq Af`āl al-`Ibād, 244, 246 Khatīb, 59, 117, 221, 225, 248, 252 Khaṭṭāb al-Subkī, 141 Khaṭṭābī, 19, 20, 132, 195, 223, 241, 247 Khawārij, 96, 99, 109, 154, 155, 252 Khuṭūrat al-Qawli bil-Jiha, 38 Kibrīt al-Ahmar, 23 kināya, 120, 183 Kirmāni, 168, 191 Labid ibn al-Aş'am, 185, 200, 233

Lacknawi, 57, 60, 61, 229, 285, 287, 302 Lājīn, 13 Lālikā'ī, 231, 238, 239, 241, 243 Lam' at al-I' tigad, 18, 159, 161 Laṭā'if al-Ishārāt, 223 Lawāmi' al-Anwār al-Bahiyya, 249 Layth, 238 Lisān al- 'Arab, 197, 223 Lisān al-Mīzān, 60, 131, 138, 139 lughz, 158 Luma' al-Adilla fi Qawā'id 'Agā'id Ahl al-Sunna, 22 Ma'ālim al-Sunan, 20, 248 Ma' ārif, 154 Ma'bad al-Juhani, 155 Madhhab al-Ahmad, 51 Madīna, 11, 19, 51, 60, 63, 93,239, 261, 298 Maḥajjat al-Wāthiqīn wa-Madrajat al-Wāmigīn, 249 Mahalli, 179 Maḥāmilī, 174 Mahmūd al-Warrāq, 154 ma'iyya, 112, 118, 125, 133, 195-199 majhūl, 138, 239, 285 Majma' al-Zawā'id, 158, 222 Majmū' at al-Rasā'il al-Munīriyya, Majmūʻ at Rasā'il, 16, 21, 92 makān, 90, 130, 169, 197 Makdisī (George), 45 Mālaqī, 197 Mālik, 18, 19, 50, 60, 82, 92, 93, 132, 136, 160, 166, 169, 238-241, 246, 253, 261, 277 Mālikī (Muḥammad 'Alawī), 57, 285, 298 Ma'mar ibn Aḥmad al-Aṣbahānī,

Mamdūḥ, 59-61, 89 Manāhil al- Irfān, 119, 125 Manāqib al-Shāfi'ī, 168 Manāzil al-Sā'irīn, 138, 294 Manbijī (Nașr al-), 44 Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn, 81, 141, 230, Maqālāt al-Kawtharī, 33, 38, 80, 83, 140, 213 Maqbarat al-Şūfiyya, 11 Mardāwī, 48, 51 Mar'ī ibn Yüsuf, 51, 84 Ma' rifat al-Qurrā' al-Kibār, 248 Ma'rifat al-Ṣaḥāba, 231 Marrīsī, see Bishr al-Marrīsī. Mashhūr Salmān, 18, 82 Mas'ūd ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid, 248 Māturīdī, 16, 141, 170 Māturīdīs, 17, 218, 300 Māwardī, 117 mawqūf, 117, 225, 265 Milal wal-Niḥal, 252 Minan al-Kubrā, 23 Minhāj al-Sunna, 53, 62, 81-82, 86, 91, 130, 230, 285 Mi 'rāj, 5, 141, 189 Mirqāt al-Mafātīḥ Sharḥ Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ, 114, 115, 119, 169, 253, Misbāḥ al-Zalām fīl-Mustaghīthīn bi-Khayr al-Anām, 56 Mīzān al-I' tidāl, 117, 131, 139, 155, 241, 247, 248, 286 Mizzī, 32, 288 Mu'ādh, 88, 89, 265 mu'allag, 117 mu'attil, mu'attila, 19, 211, 219, 226, 249 Mu'āwiya, 73, 155, 261 Mu'āwiya ibn Yaḥyā al-Ṣadafī, 222 mubtadi', 22, 34, 69, 74 Mudāwi, 60

Ma'mar ibn Ahmad ibn

Muḥammad al-Lunbānī, 249

Mufradāt Alfāz al-Qur'ān, 222, 223, Mūsā 325, 225, 234 muṣāḥaba, 197 Mughnī fīl-Du' afā', 247, 286 Musāyara, 22, 111, 112, 115, 142 Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Jawharī, mushabbiha, 16, 249 Mushkal al-Ḥadīth wa-Bayānuh, Muhammad ibn al-Hasan, 243 223, 225 Muḥammad ibn Kathīr al-Missīsī, Mushkil al-Ahādīth al-Wārida anna al-Ţalāg al-Thalātha Wāḥida, 49 Muhammad ibn Mahbūb, 169 Muslim, 12, 18, 43, 79, 120, 122, 123, Muḥammad ibn Naṣr al-Marwazī, 157, 164, 174, 185, 190, 191, 195, 215, 222-224, 247, 251, 254, 261, Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Hāni, 138 265, 267, 276, 281 Muḥammad Sa'id ibn 'Abd al-Musnad 'Abd ibn Ḥumayd, 223 Qādir al-Baghdādī, 37 Musnad Abī Ḥanīfa, 164 Musnad al-Shāmiyyīn, 225 muhdath, 74, 269 Mujāhid, 112, 113, 201, 222, 275 Musnad Ibn Abī 'Umar, 225 Mu'jam al-Awsat, 59, 158, 174, 225, Mustasfa, 93 mutahayyiz, 81, 230 Mu'jam al-Buldan, 274 mutakallimūn, 87, 159, 217, 227, 243, Mu'jam al-Kabīr, 59, 117, 190, 191, 253, 279 222, 225, 286 Mu'tagad, 249 Mu'jam al-Şaghīr, 231 mutashābih, mutashābihāt, 17, 19, Mukhtalif al-Ḥadīth, 222 20, 92, 93, 123, 169, 261, 279, 280 Mukhtar al-Sihah, 223 Mutawakkil (Caliph), 166 Mukhtāra, 281 Mu'tazilis, Mu'tazila, 19, 29, 79, 81, Mukhtaşar al- 'Uluw, 90-91, 136, 100, 109, 155, 165, 170, 200, 217, 137, 209, 244, 248-250 218, 230, 246, 248, 252, 301 Muktafā, 280 muttasil, 214 Mulha fi I' tigad Ahl al-Hagg, 101, Muwafaqat al-Ma'qul, 82, 130 141, 153 Muwatta', 60, 167, 261 Munawi, 60, 174 Muzani, 160 Mundhiri, 281 Nabateans, 217, 219 munfașil, 214 Nabhānī, 18, 21, 23, 35, 37, 54, 57-58, 64, 75, 77, 105, 253 Muntagā, 224 Muntaqā fi Sharaf al-Muṣṭafā, 22 nadhr, 53 Muqaddima fil-Taşawwuf, 174 Nafh al-Tib, 168 Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldūn, 274 Nahr al-Mādd, 127, 179 muqārana, 197, 203 Nakha'ī, 223, 289, 290 Muqşid li-Talkhīş mā fīl-Murshid, Namūdhaj min al-A'māl al-280 Khayriyya, 252 Murādī, 197 Nagd al-Jahmiyya, 83, 129, 135, 211, 213

Nasaī, 43, 122, 174, 192, 225, 251, 254, 261 Nasāfi, 178 Naṣiḥa Dhahabiyya, 68-70 nașs, 119, 175, 187, 212, 280 Nass, Sāmir, 78 Nashr al-Maḥāsin, 22 Nawawi, 18, 82, 93, 100, 122, 156, 168, 174, 179, 192, 195, 215, 222, 224 Nazm al-Mutanāthir, 157, 231, 295 Nihāya, 215, 223 Nizāmiyya, 253 Nu'aymi, 273 Nujūm al-Zāhira, 249 Nūniyya, 21, 46, 78, 126, 186, 283-284 Nuqul al-Şahihatu al-Wadiha 'an al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ fī Ma' nā al-Ma'iyyat al-Ilāhiyyat al-Ḥaqīqiyya, 134 Nūrī, 165, 166, 198 Nuṣrat al-Imām al-Subkī, 58 nuzül, 134, 166, 169, 186, 258, 259 Pazdawi, 17, 19, 221 Persians, 217, 228 Pharaoh, 184-185, 204, 210, 234 philosophers, 36, 68, 102, 172, 175, 218, 228, 266Pickthall, 222 qabda, 251, 281 Qabjaq, 13 gabūl, 177 Qādī 'Abd al-Wahhāb, 250 Qādī 'Iyād, 168, 179 Qadariyya, 43, 155 qadīm, 29, 113, 164, 272 Qahqaha hadith, 229 Qāʻida fīl-Jarḥ wal-Taʻdīl, 139 Qāmūs al-Muḥīţ, 197 Qarāmița, 154, 167 Qārī, 20, 55, 114, 115, 119, 128, 164, 169, 174, 253, 280

Qāsim ibn Muḥammad, 261 Qāsim ibn Sallām, 244, 301 Qāsimī (Jamāl al-Dīn), 12, 115 Qatada, 112, 174, 223, 224 Qawā'id al-'Aqā'id, 21 Qawāʻid al-Kulliyya, 45 Qawa'id al-Taḥdīth, 12 Qinnawjī, 58 qiyas, 218, 276 Qurtubī, 15, 113, 116, 117, 141-142, 178, 179, 221, 222, 261, 274, 288-289 Qushayrī, 5, 16, 141, 156, 165-170, 189, 223, 241 Rabī' ibn Sulaymān, 161 Rabi'a, 239 Radd Mabānī al-Āyāt al-Mutashābihāt ilā Ma'ānī al-Āyāt al-Muhkamāt, 22 Raf al-Ishtibāh fī Istiḥālat al-Jiha alā Allāh, 23, 37 rāfida, 64, 154, 252 Rāghib al-Aṣfahānī, 184, 222, 280 Ramlī (Shihāb al-Dīn), 22 Rāqī, 41 Rașf al-Mabani, 197 Rāzī (Fakhr al-Dīn), 15, 16, 22, 80, 83, 115, 179, 218, 223, 230, 235, Reliance of the Traveller, 221, 225, 284 Rifā'ī (Imām Aḥmad), 5, 168 Rifā'ī (Sayyid Yūsuf), 57, 148 Risāla Qudsiyya, 21 Risāla Qushayriyya, 16, 113, 141, 165, 167-169 Risāla Sharīfa fī-Mā Yata'llaqu bikam al-Bāqī min 'Umr al- Dunyā, 75, 104 Rudūd wal-Taʻaqqubāt, 18, 82 Rūḥ, 134, 287-289 Rūḥ al-Maʿānī, 112, 274

ruqya, 191 Sabeans, 218, 233, 234 Şabigh ibn 'Isl, 261 Ṣābūnī (Abū 'Uthmān), 248 Şābūnī (Nūr al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd), 252 Ṣadr al-Dīn ibn al-Muraḥḥal, 11 Şadr ibn al-Wakīl, 11 Şafadī, 35, 54, 64, 67, 288 Saffarini, 249 Sahl ibn Sa'd al-Sā'idī, 281 Sa'id ibn Abī Ayyūb, 233 Sa'id ibn Jubayr, 117, 223 Sa'īd ibn Manṣūr, 201 Sakhāwī, 32-34, 60, 62-63, 69-70, Salafis, Salafiyya, 14, 24, 58, 96, 98, 104, 109, 175, 200, 253, 288, 292 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, 273 Şalāḥiyya School, 11 Salama ibn Nufayl, 225 Samannūdī, 58, 60, 87 Şan'ānī, 75, 84, 104, 222 saq, 222 Saqqaf, 138 Sārim al-Munkī, 57-58, 61 Sayf al-Din Jā'ān, 13 Sayf al-Ṣaqīl, 18, 21, 72, 127, 209, 283, 284 Sayr al-Ḥāthth ilā 'Ilm al-Ṭalāq al-Thalath, 49 Shadharāt al-Dhahab, 79, 273 Shāfi'i, 36, 50, 131, 160, 161, 174, 238, 253, 258, 276, 277, 291 Shahrastani, 252 Shām, 149, 246, 274, 297 Shann al-Ghāra 'alā man Ankara al-Safar lil-Ziyāra, 52 Sharaf al-Dīn al-Maqdisī, 11 Sha'rānī, 23 Sharḥ al-' Aqīda al-Tahāwiyya, 164 Sharh al-Fiqh al-Akbar, 16, 128, 164-165, 253, 300 Sharḥ al-Magāṣid, 22 Sharh al-Shifa', 55 Sharh al-Sunna, 18, 221, 239 Sharh Ḥadīth al-Nuzūl, 82, 91, 134 Sharh Şahīh Muslim, 18, 93, 122, 168, 174, 179, 195, 222, 224 Sharh Sunan al-Nasā'ī, 174 Sharḥ Uṣūl I' tiqād Ahl al-Sunna, 231, 239, 243 Sharī'a, 193, 196, 238 Sharid ibn Suwayd, 210 Sharik, 241 Shawahid al-Ḥaqq, 18, 21, 23, 35, 37, 54, 56-58, 64, 77, 107, 253 Shawkānī, 60, 63, 78, 100-101, 117, 118, 222, 274, 286 Shiblī, 16, 167, 214, 250, 270 Shifa' al-Fu'ad fi Ziyarati Khayr al-Ibād, 57 Shifa' al-Şudur fi Ziyarat al-Mashāhid wal-Qubūr, 51 Shifā' al-Siqām fī Ziyārati Khayr al-Anām, 52, 59, 60-62 Shīrāzī, 141 Shu'ab al-Imān, 59, 60, 225 Shu'ba, 241, 245 Sībawayh, 65, 206 Şifat (Daraqutni's), 117 Şifat (Khatīb's), 221 Silafi, 249 Sīra Ḥalabiyya, 56 Siyar Aʻlām al-Nubalā', 11, 65, 90, 131, 138-139, 141, 155, 160, 186, 209, 211, 221, 222, 237, 241, 248, 273 Subkī, 18, 21-23, 31, 32, 48, 52, 54, 57-61, 65, 66, 72-74, 84, 85, 105, 283-284 Sulamī, 16, 160, 165, 174

Sulaymān ibn Yasār, 261 Sunan, 185, 215, 222 Sunan Abī Dāwūd, 19, 265 Sunan al-Dāraqutnī, 59, 209 Sunan al-Kubrā (Bayhaqī), 59, 174, 201, 265 Sunan al-Kubrā (Nasā'ī), 174, 192, 225 Sunan Sa'id ibn Manşūr, 201 Sunan al-Ṣiḥāḥ, 59, 60 Sunna (al-Țabarānī), 117 sūra, 14, 19, 20, 221 Suyūtī, 15, 60, 61, 117, 149, 174, 223, 225, 273, 280, 286, 288 Ta' aqqub al-Mufid 'alā Hadī al-Zura'ī al-Shadīd, 89, 285 Ta' arruf li-Madhhab al-Tasawwuf, 81, 230 Tabagāt al-Ḥanābila (Ibn Abī Ya'lā), 160, 200, 214 Ţabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz, 166 Ţabaqāt al-Ṣūfiyya, 165 Ţabaqāt al-Shāfi iyya, 252 Tabaqāt al-Shāfi' iyya al-Kubrā, 14, 32, 37, 75, 138, 139, 141, 146, 149, 150, 151, 186, 229, 224, 252 Tabaqāt al-Shāfi iyya al-Wustā, 249 Țabarānī, 59, 117, 121, 158, 174, 190, 191, 222, 225, 231, 280, 286, 287 Tabarī, 92, 112, 115-117, 136, 168, 174, 177, 178, 180, 222, 275 Tabyīn Kadhib al-Muftarī, 141, 253 Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz, 139, 221, 222, 237, 248 Tadhkirat al-Mawdū'āt (Fattanī), 60, 286 Tadhkirat al-Mawdūʻāt (Ibn al-Qaysarānī), 192 Tafsīr Abū al-Su'ūd, 178, 223 Tafsīr al-Baghawī, 116 Tafsīr al-Baydāwī, 117, 178, 223 Tafsīr Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 275, 281

Tafsīr al-Jalālayn, 179, 223 Tafsīr al-Kabīr, 16, 22, 115, 179 Tafsīr al-Nasāfi, 178 Tafsīr al-Māwardī, 117 Tafsīr al-Qurṭubī, 113, 116, 117, 141, 142, 178, 179, 221, 222, 261, 274 Tafsīr Sufyān al-Thawrī, 116, 117 Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī, 92, 115, 168, 177, 180, 222, 275 Taftazānī, 22 tafwid, 18, 93, 114, 221 Taghliq al-Taʻliq, 76, 117 Ţaḥāwī, 85, 86, 129, 131, 132, 139, 164, 173, 241 Taḥāwiyya, 85, 86, 132, 164, 168, tahayyuz, 42, 140, 185, 270, 272 Taḥdhīr al-Umma min Du'āt al-Wathaniyya, 83 Țăhir ibn Ismā'īl al-Rāzī, 165-166 taḥrīf, 30, 76, 167, 200 Taḥrīm al-Nazar fī Kutub Ahl al-Kalām, 159 Taḥrīr Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb, 237, 241 tajalli haqiqi, 20 tajsīm, 101, 189 Țalamankī, 91, 222 Talkhīş al-Ḥabīr, 59, 60, 174 Tālūt, 233 Ţalyānī, 45-46 Tamhīd, 141, 238, 239, 251 tanāsukh, 226 Ta'nīb al-Khaţīb, 229 tanzīh, 19, 141, 192, 221 taqdis, 257, 258 Tarh al-Tathrib, 53, 195 Tärīkh Baghdād, 117, 225, 252 Tārīkh Dimashq, 225 Tārikh Jurjān, 60 Tārikh al-Kabīr, 225, 247 Tärikh al-Khulafa', 273 Tärikh al-Madhāhib, 96, 99, 175

Tafsir Ibn Kathir, 76, 117, 223

Tarikh al-Ṭabari, 174 taṣawwuf, 45-47, 167, 287, 293-294 taṣdīg, 257, 259 tashbīh, 120, 133, 155, 164, 184, 221, 234, 243, 247 Ta'sīs Radd Asās al-Taqdīs, 22, 68, 80, 81-83, 131-133, 230 tasrif, 262 ta' tīl, 200 Tatimmat al-Mukhtaşar fi Akhbār al-Bashar, 35 Tawasin, 165 tawhīd, 82, 86-89, 157, 160, 162, 170, Tawhid (Ibn Khuzayma), 137, 193, 247 Tawhid (Maturidi), 141 ta'wīl, 20, 30, 110, 114-119, 122-125, 167, 199-200, 248-249, 262-279 Ta'wil Mukhtalif al-Ḥadīth, 225 Ţayālisī, 59, 241, 245 Thawrī, 50, 116, 117, 136 238, 241, 245, 246 thiqa, 138, 248 Thigat, 174 Tilimsani, 56, 168 Tirmidhī, 20, 43, 59, 60, 122, 123, 164, 190, 193, 224, 225, 230, 251, 281 Transcendence, 19, 101-103, 119, 131, 141, 154, 171, 172, 192, 221, 257, 258 Tūghū, King Aḥmad, 297 Tustari, 157, 241 Tuwayjiri, 14, 202, 217 Ubay ibn Ka'b, 225 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Abī Rāfi', 174 'Ulamā' al-' Uzzāb, 33, 66 'uluw, 14, 16, 142, 164, 172, 177, 178, 180, 200, 201, 'Uluw, 136, 138, 209, 235, 241, 244-250 'Umar, 41, 92, 195, 261

'Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Īsā, Umayya ibn Abī Şalt, 210 Umm, 174 'Uqud al-Durriyya, 35, 253 Uṣūl al-Pazdawī, 17, 19 Uways al-Qaranī, 225 Vision of Allah, 17, 18, 164 Wafayāt al-Aʻyān, 273 Wāḥidī, 15, 118, 223 Wa-Huwa bil-Ufuqi al-Aʻlā, 189 Wajh fī Ibṭāl al-Jiha, 37 Wakī' ibn al-Jarrāḥ, 117 Walid ibn Muslim, 238 Warthānī, 165 Wasiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa, 160, 164, 167, 302 Waşiyyat al-Şābūnī, 249 Wathila ibn al-Asqaʻ, 190, 280 Wuṣūl ilā Maʻrifat al-Uṣūl, 91 yad, 18, 121, 251 Yafi'i, 22 Yaḥyā ibn ʿAmmār, 138, 248 Yaḥyā ibn Bukayr, 238 Yaḥyā ibn Ismāʻīl al-Wāsiṭī, 247 Yaḥyā ibn Muʿādh al-Rāzī, 165, 166 yamin, 28, 251 Yaqut, 274 Yawaqit wal-Jawahir, 23 zāhir, 40, 114, 175, 187, 195, 198, 199, 212, 262, 280 Zāhiriyya, 11,12, 46, 51, 70, Zaʻfarānī (Muḥammad ibn Marzūq), 221 Zabīdī, 22, 31, 149 Zād al-Ma' ād, 285-287 Zād al-Masīr, 116, 222 Zād al-Mustaqni, 48 zāhid, zuhd, 138 Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī, 280 Zamakhshari, 121, 179 Zamalkānī, 66

Zarkashī, 223 Zarqānī, 119, 123 Zawā'id Tārīkh Baghdād, 225 Zaynab bint Jaḥsh, 247 Ziyāda ibn Muḥammad al-Miṣrī, 191 Zoroastrians, 217, 223 Zuhd, 225 Zuhrī, 238, 261 Zoroastrians, 217, 223 Zuhd, 225 Zuhrī, 238, 261

At Al-Qur'an wal-Sunna Association (AQSA), Birmingham:

Albānī and His Friends: A Concise Guide to the "Salafī" Movement.

عليها السلام Al-Jifrī, Ḥabīb ʿAlī. Jesus Christ and His Most Blessed Mother

Al-Mālikī, Muḥammad ibn 'Alawī. The Prophet's 霧 Night Journey and Heavenly Ascent.

Al-Mālikī, Muḥammad ibn 'Alawī. The Life of Prophets in their Graves. Bilingual (Forthcoming).

Mawlid: Celebrating the Birth of the Holy Prophet \$\mathbb{z}\$.

At AQSA and Warda Publications, Hellenthal, Germany:

Sunna Notes I: Ḥadīth History and Principles. With Ibn Ḥajar's Nukhbat al-Fikar (translated by Mūsā Furber).

Sunna Notes II: The Excellent Innovation. Foreword by Shaykh Wahbī Sulaymān Ghāwjī. With Ibn Rajab's The Sunna of the Caliphs.

Sunna Notes III: The Binding Proof of the Sunna. Foreword by Dr. Muḥammad Saʿīd al-Būṭī. With Ibn Ḥajar's The Ḥadīth of Gibrīl 🕮 (Forthcoming).

At Maktabat al-Ahbāb, Damascus:

Afḍalu al-Khalqi Sayyidunā Muḥammad 雲 (On the Prophetic Attribute "Best of Creation"). Bilingual.

Al-Arbaʿūna fī Faḍli al-Shāmi wa-Ahlih wal-Hijrati ilā Allāhi wa-Rasūlih ﷺ ("The Excellence of Syro-Palestine – al-Shām – and Its People: Forty Ḥadīths"). Forewords by Shaykh Adīb Kallās, Shaykh Muṣṭafā al-Turkmānī, and Shaykh Ṣalāḥ Fakhrī. Bilingual.

Mawlānā's Open Door in Johore and Singapore. Bilingual.

Qubrus al-Ṭarab fī Ṣuḥbati Rajab ("The Joy of Cyprus in the Association of Rajab"). Discourses of Shaykh Nāzim al-Ḥaqqānī. Bilingual.

Al-Rifāʿī, Yūsuf Hāshim. Advice to Our Brethren the Scholars of Najd (Naṣīḥa li-Ikhwāninā ʿUlamāʾ Najd). Introduction by Dr. Muḥammad Saʿīd al-Būṭī. With the introduction of al-Ḥabīb ʿAlawī ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥaddādʾs Miṣbāḥ al-Anām ("The Light of Mankind").

Sayyidunā Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq 🐇. Bilingual.

At Amal Press, Bristol:

From The Two Holy Sanctuaries: A Hajj Journal. With illustrations.

At Muslim Academic Trust (MAT), London:

The Four Imāms and Their Schools: Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal. Foreword by Shaykh Yūsuf Hāshim al-Rifāʿī.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Ahmad ibn Muhyī al-Dīn Yahyā al-Kilābī al-Halabī thumma al-Dimashqī al-Shāfi'ī al-Ash'arī, known as Ibn Jahbal (670-733), is described in al-Dhahabi's Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā' as "the erudite scholar, the guiding leader of Muslims" and in his 'Ibar fi Khabari Man 'Abar as "The muftī of the Muslims." He took figh from Abū al-Faraj Sharaf al-Dīn al-Magdisī, al-Ṣadr ibn al-Wakīl, Ibn al-Naqīb, Muḥammad ibn 'Umar Sadr al-Dīn ibn al-Murahhal al-'Uthmānī, and hadīth from Abū al-Hasan ibn al-Bukhārī, 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im ibn al-Qawwas, Ahmad ibn Hibat Allāh ibn 'Asākir, and others. He narrated in Makka, Madina, al-Qudus, and Damascus. He taught at the Salāhiyya School in al-Qudus then moved to Damascus where he assumed the headmastership of Dar al-Hadīth at al-Zāhiriyya. When the headmaster of the Bādirā'iyya School died, he replaced him while al-Dhahabī took over Dar al-Hadith. He died in Damascus at age sixtythree and was buried in Magbarat al-Sūfiyya.

ABOUT THE TRANSLATOR

Dr. Gibril Fouad Haddad was born in Beirut in 1380/1960. He embraced Islam while a graduate student in French literature at Columbia University in New York. He studied the sacred sciences for over a decade with the foremost scholars of Syria. He lives in Brunei. Since 1997 he has published many translations of classical texts by the living masters of the past and present.

This short theological tract, Fi Nafi al-Jiha, or On Denying Direction to God, by the Ash'ari theologian and celebrated Shafi'i jurist, Qadi Ibn Jahbal (d. 733/1333), is a clinical rebuttal of the controversial fatwa, the 'Aqida Hamawiyya, penned by his legendary contemporary, Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328). It is considered, rightly, a classic manifesto of anti-literalism, which will be an indispensable reference for advanced students of Islamic theology, other professional theologians, and modern academics needing primary source materials in English or a source book on the controversies surrounding Ibn Taymiyya's theology.

This same work embodies, moreover, a contemporary exercise in polemic representing the longstanding views in the conformist tradition of Muslim theology, whether via *ta'wil* or *tafwid*, and whether in the schools of the Ash aris, Maturidis or Hanbalis. In particular, it pits itself against one of the two opposite non-conformist readings of the Qur'an and Sunna; and in general, it highlights the pitfalls of a literalistic mindset which plagues all scripturally-based religions.

MUHAMMAD AFIFI AL-AKITI Research Fellow in Islamic Theology, Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, Oxford University.

The learned Dr. Gibril Fouad Haddad merits the rewards of the one who corrects the errors which crept into some minds in the Ummah, reminding them once again of the saving, mainstream discourse of the Ummah in the understanding of the most fundamental matters of the faith, guaranteed by Allah to exist until the end of time. May Allah reward him most abundantly for his enterprise.

His translation of Ibn Jahbal al-Kilabi's al-Raddu 'ala Man Qala bil-Jiha is elegant and accurate, marked by a strong sense of spiritual propriety toward the scholarly personages of the Ummah. The copious notes are illuminating. It will be one of the most important books on this subject for many decades to come, Allah willing. The publisher is to be congratulated for bringing out a work of such sterling scholarly merits.

MUHAMMAD 'UTHMAN EL-MUHAMMADY Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC) International Islamic University Malaysia

